

THE ROUND TABLE

A Quarterly Review of

BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AFFAIRS

Contents of Number 199

THE SOUTH AFRICAN TRAGEDY

PHILIP KERR

SOUTH AFRICA IN TURMOIL

A GIRDLE ROUND THE EARTH

THE NEGRO IN AMERICA

THE LAW OF THE SEA

THE IMPACT OF BROADCASTING: II

And Articles from Correspondents in

UNITED KINGDOM IRELAND INDIA PAKISTAN CANADA

SOUTH AFRICA AUSTRALIA NEW ZEALAND

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A CORRECTION AND WITHDRAWAL

On page 332 of the issue of September 1958 a contributor wrote of Mr. Dom Mintoff, former Prime Minister of Malta, that: "He has been openly accused of benefiting his relatives in the awards of tenders."

Since then the Editor has been provided with an official translation of the proceedings in Her Majesty's Criminal Court of Appellate Jurisdiction in Malta, which shows:

- (a) that the above-mentioned accusation was made in a Maltese newspaper;
- (b) that after Mr. Mintoff had ceased to be Prime Minister the police prosecuted the Editor of the said newspaper for the said accusation;
- (c) that the Editor was found guilty and his appeal was dismissed and the said newspaper was ordered to print amends of the said accusation;
- (d) that all the above events had taken place before the publication of the article.

The Editor is satisfied that the said accusation was unfounded and had he known the above facts the said sentence would not have been published.

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THE ROUND TABLE

A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF
BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AFFAIRS

CONTENTS

	PAGE
The South African Tragedy	223
Philip Kerr	234
South Africa in Turmoil	244
A Girdle Round the Earth	249
The Negro in America	258
The Law of the Sea	264
The Impact of Broadcasting: II	272
United Kingdom: The Affluent Society	280
Ireland: Facing Reality	290
India: Portrait of a Polity	296
Pakistan: The Comity of Islam	300
Canada: Little Legislation Achieved	304
South Africa: The Budget	311
Australia: Australia in the Antarctic	315
New Zealand: Nelson Railway	321
Rhodesia and Nyasaland: Mr. Macmillan Passes By	327

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THE SOUTH AFRICAN TRAGEDY

A STUDY OF THE FAILURE OF *APARTHEID*

MELIANS And how, pray, could it turn out as good for us to serve as for you to rule?

ATHENIANS Because you would have the advantage of submitting before suffering the worst, and we should gain by not destroying you.*

THE dialogue in which Thucydides exposes the cynical cruelty to which a civilized people can sink in their treatment of others who are at their mercy would certainly not seem to Dr. Verwoerd and his colleagues to have any relevance to their native policy. None the less, with whatever justification or lack of it, these words reflect accurately the impression made abroad by recent happenings in the Union. This is an emotional and a sentimental age, prone to the stimuli of sensational journalism, more interested in appearance than in reality, more sensitive to wrongs suffered on the other side of the globe than to those which should be obvious round the corner. But when every allowance is made for ignorance, for exaggeration and for the notorious unreliability of judgments by one nation of another, it cannot be gainsaid that serious and responsible men and women, in South Africa itself, in the Commonwealth, in Western Europe and in America, have come to believe that the native policy of the Union Government for the last twelve years has been a mistaken policy, mistaken not only because it was impracticable but because it was wrong; that in the administration of the policy blunder has followed blunder and that persistence in it after its failure was patent has led directly to the present tragedy. That it is a tragedy no one can doubt who knows anything of the country and of the peoples who have made it their home. The purpose of this article is neither to extenuate nor to set down aught in malice, but to explain what is unique in the race problems of the Union, what the advocates of *apartheid* have sought to achieve and why they have failed.

It is more than three hundred years since the Dutch East India Company established a European settlement at the Cape and began to people it with emigrants from the Netherlands, from the Huguenot refugees who had left their homes in France to escape the tyranny of Louis XIV and from the German States of the north contiguous to Holland. They had come to a country almost empty of African inhabitants, where they found fertile land in a temperate climate and where from their mixed European stock with a predominantly Protestant and religious tradition they were able to build a strong and adventurous race and to advance slowly over the years towards the north and east as their numbers grew. It was not until the second half

* Crawley's translation from Thucydides v. 92:

MHA; καὶ πῶς χρήσιμον ἂν συμβαίη ἡμῖν δουλεῦσαι, ὥσπερ καὶ ὑμῖν ἄρξαι;

ATH; Ὅτι ὑμῖν μὲν πρὸ τοῦ τὰ δεινότατα παθεῖν ὑπακούσαι ἂν γένοιτο, ἡμεῖς δὲ μὴ διαφθείραντες ὑμᾶς κερδαίνοιμεν ἂν.

of the eighteenth century that they heard even by rumour of a Bantu invasion from the north. Some great cataclysm in the regions south of the Equator had driven strong tribes south-eastwards, pursuers and pursued, carried on a wave of fire and slaughter towards the rich and semi-tropical country east of the Drakensberg. When the Cape passed to the British Crown after the Napoleonic Wars and English settlements grew up in the eastern part of the Colony, it needed all the courage and vigour of the settlers in a succession of frontier wars between the thirties and the fifties of last century to arrest the Bantu invasion at the Great Kei River and prevent the Colony from being overrun. They might well not have succeeded if migrant Boers from the older Dutch population had not at the same time in their Great Trek north in search of space and freedom beyond the Orange and the Vaal turned east over the Berg from the plains of the Orange Free State and there in Northern Natal met, and in face of treachery and heavy loss to their own number broken, the Zulu power. These are tales of long ago and every schoolboy ought to know them. But they are tales which it is well we should remember if we are to understand why the Afrikaner people of today rightly regard themselves as indigenous to South Africa and why the massacre of Piet Rerief and his men, the defeat of Dingaan, and the perils and suffering of the Kaffir Wars are living memories to all South Africans. They mean what the Indian wars and the advance to the middle west and the Pacific mean to every American who is conscious of his history.

The Red Indian has shown by his diminishing numbers that the seeds of racial degeneration were already within him and is not today an element in the race problems of the United States. The more virile Bantu has multiplied prodigiously and has in his own fashion prospered. Until the most recent times a generally understanding and benevolent administration in the reserves turned the savage warrior of the Kaffir Wars into a docile and contented being, with simple needs and no urgent wish for change. South Africa owes it to the missions, and even more to the generations of Europeans from both white races who have devoted their lives and their talents to native administration and to winning the trust and the respect of the native, that on the isolated farms and in the innumerable small towns normal life has continued even through the recent crisis and the persons and property both of Afrikaners and of the English have remained unscathed. It is a reasonable inference that the view of South African society as a society founded on oppression by the sjambok and the rifle rests on a myth.

The Two Traditions

ON the subject of native political rights two different traditions grew up during the nineteenth century in the southern Colonies and in the two Boer republics. It would be quite wrong to think of them as a British and a Boer tradition. There was always a Dutch majority in the population of the Cape, but until the Jameson raid and the Boer War its political divisions never rested on a racial basis. To a representative Assembly sitting in Cape Town, with the Bantu living in their reserves in the Transkei, under a special

native administration, and in smaller numbers scattered over adjoining districts of the Colony hundreds of miles away, there was nothing revolutionary in the idea that such natives as could meet the relatively high qualification should have the right to vote in the Colony proper or that the Transkeian territories should elect two Europeans to the Cape Parliament. In all the older districts of the Colony the principal beneficiaries of the franchise were not the Bantu, who were scarcely found there, but the Coloured people, the people sprung from the mixture of the old slave population, imported from the East Indies and from their homes in Mauritius, Madagascar and West Africa, with the indigenous Hottentots and then with the blood of Dutch settlers and in later years of white artisans. The Coloured people seemed then, as they seem today, to have a higher degree of intelligence and to have attained a more advanced stage of civilization, after centuries of much closer contact with Europeans, than natives proper. It was in the Cape of the nineties that Cecil Rhodes could proclaim his faith in "equal rights for all civilized men" without any political upheaval. On the other hand to the Boers of the Great Trek and to their children, building their society on the high veld, a promised land reached after long wanderings and fierce combat, and still bounded on the north and east by strong Bantu agglomerations, it was natural that they should be fortified by their experiences in their Old Testament theology and that they should take a patriarchal view of their duty to the natives amongst them. How could men who were unwilling to enfranchise the *uitlanders*, though their knowledge and energies and money were developing the gold fields, be expected to enfranchise their herdsmen and the labourers on their lands? It was enough, they felt, that they should treat them justly according to their lights and as they believed that Abraham would have treated them.*

The Boer War came. To a divergence in native policy between north and south was added a new division between Boer and Briton, a division which destroyed old political alignments even in the Cape. The Treaty of Vereeniging, which ended the war, included a guarantee by the British Government that "the question of granting the franchise to natives will not be decided until after the introduction of self-government". Lord Milner soon regretted that he had agreed to that condition and regarded it as the greatest mistake he had ever made. "If I had known", he wrote to his successor in 1905, "as well as I know now the extravagance of the prejudice on the part of almost all the whites—not the Boers only—against any concession to any coloured

* A well-informed correspondent of the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* in a frank and hostile criticism of *apartheid* written from Johannesburg a few weeks ago said this: "It would be false to represent the white South Africans now in power merely as oppressors of their coloured majority. The judgment of many coloured people themselves contradicts that view. We often met in Nyasaland and Rhodesia Bantu who of their own accord and from their own experience expressed the view that they felt themselves better treated in Johannesburg than in Salisbury. Not only, they said, were wages better but they found there amongst the Boers, in spite of all discrimination against them, an inherited respect for the nature and character of the black man. Moreover there were more opportunities for education. Hundreds of thousands of natives who from far away in the neighbouring territories flock to the mining industry of the Union and on to South African farms would never come if the human climate on the Witwatersrand was altogether repugnant to them."

man, however civilized, I should never have agreed to so absolute an exclusion, not only of the raw native, but of the whole coloured population from any rights of citizenship, even in municipal affairs." When responsible government came in 1906 nothing was done about the native franchise and the convention of representatives of the four colonies which led to their Union in 1910 was only saved from breakdown by a compromise which left the franchise as it was in each of the colonies with the proviso through an "entrenched clause" that the new Union Parliament could not withdraw the native franchise in the Cape or Natal without a two-thirds majority of both Houses sitting together. The compromise was accepted by the British Parliament when it passed the South Africa Act in 1909. Even the protection of the "entrenched clauses" has been shown to be illusory by the present Government of the Union and every vestige of a right to any native or Coloured man to a vote for the Parliament of the Union has been swept from the Statute Book.

Arcadian Days

UNTIL the First World War life for the native in the Union, voting or voteless, followed on lines with which he was familiar. There was still room in the reserves for the old pastoral existence amongst his cattle and his sheep and his goats, with his women folk to hoe the maize and carry the water, with his friends, over their pipes and beer, to "tire the sun with talking and send him down the sky".* The hand of Parliament pressed lightly on him and when the need for money or the wish for change drove him, there was good work for a spell in the mines or on the farms or in the homes of the white man in the Union. To political parties and to Parliament the native problem was one of gradual adjustment to changing conditions, something to be solved *ambulando*, not a problem with a precise objective attainable in the life-time of anyone then living. It was then, and is now, the unanimous view of the European population that the mixture of blood and the ultimate evolution of a Coloured race was intolerable. Hence "segregation" was the *mot d'ordre*, so far as a general policy was adumbrated, and it meant that within the limits of what was practicable at any time Europeans and natives should live and develop separately. Whatever differences there might be amongst politicians in matters of detail it was a tacit convention that native affairs should be kept out of party politics. Those were Arcadian days, not only in South Africa.

In the forty years since the first war there have been vast changes in the economic structure of South African life. Expert opinion in 1920 would have predicted that the gold mines would have been for practical purposes exhausted by 1960. In fact annual production has risen from 8.2 million oz. to 20.1 million oz. Secondary industry was then in its infancy: in 1917 it employed only 50,000 natives with an annual wage bill of £1,500,000. Today 500,000 Africans work in the Union in factories and in government and municipal undertakings and in the seven main centres alone they earn £126,000,000 a year. Without this development the rapid growth of the

* ἥλιον λέκτρῳ κατεδύσαμεν—Callimachus, paraphrased by Cory.

native population would have outstripped the power of the reserves to contain and feed them, and the rise of a new set of native problems in the Union itself has thus prevented or postponed the emergence of another in the native territories. Another and certainly a more serious problem; for it must always be better that men should earn their living than that they should starve. The latest estimates of population in the Union are 3 million Europeans (rather more than two-fifths English and rather less than three-fifths Dutch) and 10 million natives, of whom 4 million are in the reserves, $3\frac{1}{2}$ million in European rural areas and $2\frac{1}{2}$ million in urban areas. It will be clear that of this large native population which has established itself in and around European urban areas—in industry, in domestic service or in idleness, many have no longer any close link with the natives of the reserves. It will be clear, too, that with rising wages and better housing a native middle class domiciled in the Union has come into existence.

It is the urban native who has met the full force of the "wind of change". The wind of change to him means something more real than the parrot cry of the agitator in the north for independence and universal suffrage. That Dr. Nkrumah should claim that "Africa is one" means nothing to him. He neither knows nor cares whether it is true. Nor would he be interested in Mr. Macleod's objective for Kenya of a "parliamentary democracy on the Westminster model", even if he knew what it meant: but he is much more concerned with the ideal prescribed by Mr. Macleod and his colleagues for their own constituents—that they should double their standard of living in a generation. The wind of change for him does not come from Africa at all. The home of the new Aeolus is amongst the Western nations and for his brew he has had to his hand their achievements and their failures. By technical magic they have eliminated distance and have created instruments like the film, the radio and television for the propagation of ideas; but the ideas with their increasingly brutal and sordid emphasis on crime and sex have not been worthy of the instruments by which they are recorded and transmitted. Two world wars in a generation have been exhibited with their heroism and sacrifice but in all their horror: and there has been seen too the attempt to build an organization dedicated to peace and comity, an attempt doomed only to lead in a few years to the apotheosis of nationalism in ever smaller units over an ever wider area of the globe. It is not surprising if from these ingredients there has emerged from the cave of the winds a formidable tempest—formidable not only to the bewildered millions of Africa but to the Europeans from whose efforts the development of the continent has largely derived.

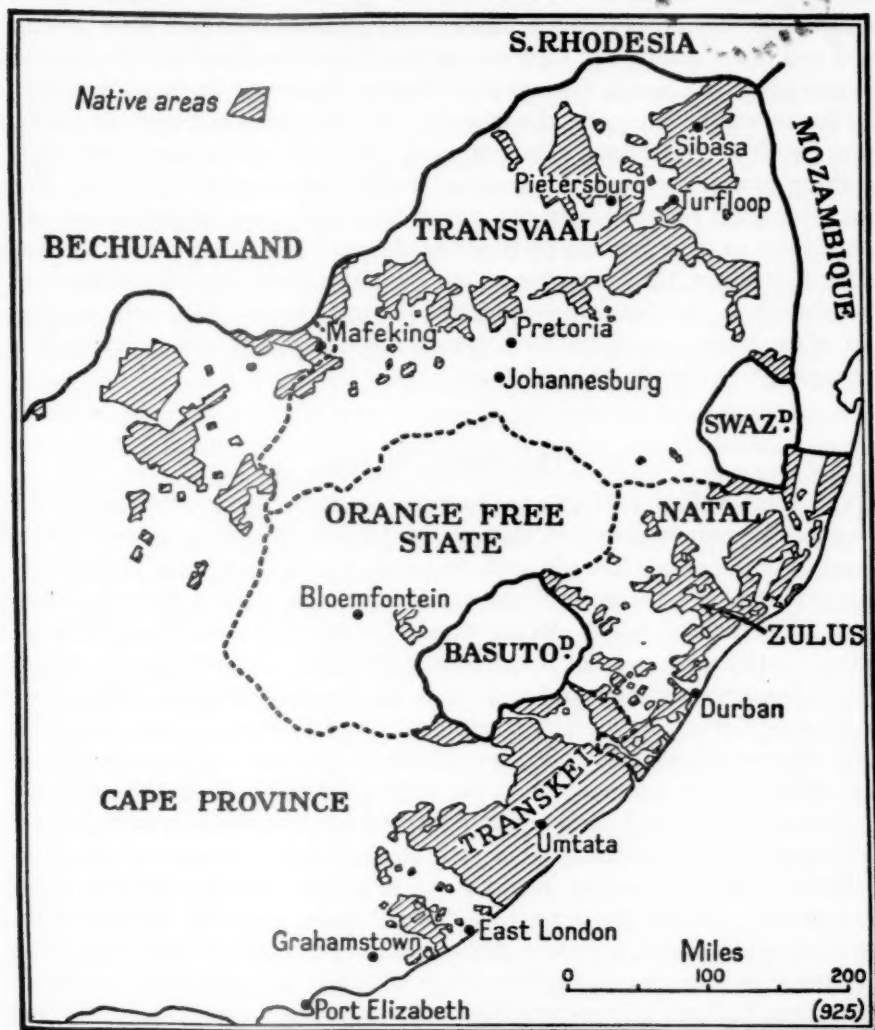
Nationalism in Power

IT was in 1948, when the later phases of industrial growth in the Union were getting under way and natives were flocking to the larger towns in search of a better livelihood, that the Nationalists defeated Field-Marshal Smuts and his United Party in a general election and formed a government under Dr. Malan. They have now been in power, with majorities greatly increased by each election, for twelve years. They are a purely Afrikaner

party and no South African other than those of Afrikaner descent has been a member of the Union Government at any time during that period. As a political organization they came into existence in 1912, when General Hertzog resigned from the first Union Government led by General Botha because he wished to see a South African nationality in two parallel streams, Afrikaner and British, and not in one broader stream formed by the merging of the two. In the aridity of its dialectic Hertzog's Nationalism rivalled the Aryan heresy and it might well have disappeared, like the waters of the Kalahari, in the desert with its streams and its whole metaphysical baggage if the First World War, with its immediate challenge whether the Union was on the side of England or of the Kaiser, had not come to reopen old wounds. As opponents of the war the Nationalist Party made progress and, after the death of Botha and as the aftermath of serious industrial trouble by which Smuts had been beset on the Rand, Hertzog and his supporters came to power. They governed with moderation and reasonable acceptance until the world economic crisis of 1931-2, when they were driven by their financial blunders to take Smuts and his South African Party into a coalition government. The second war stoked anew the fires of former quarrels and when Smuts succeeded with a small majority in Parliament in bringing South Africa into active participation in the war Hertzog and his Nationalists left the Government. His disciples, smaller men with no experience of world affairs and none of their leader's natural moderation, were free to plan and scheme for the day when they could bring to fruition Kruger's dream of a South African republic dominated by the Afrikaner people and dedicated to the political ideas and the political methods of Kruger himself.

That day came in 1948, and the subsequent history of government in South Africa has been little more than a record of the efforts of the Nationalist Party to establish once for all the political predominance of the Afrikaner people over the British South Africans and to force on their political opponents and on the natives themselves their native policy. They have played their cards until recently with much political skill, and they have been able to split into even smaller fractions an already divided and irresolute opposition. Safe in the possession of a parliamentary majority which may well be indestructible except from within, they have by their appointments and by their constitutional innovations come near to eliminating half the European population from any effective share in the government of the country. In every branch of government service, the armed forces, the civil administration, the railways, the police, even the judiciary, the dice have been heavily loaded against their political opponents, whether British or Afrikaner. The lowering of standards of competence and honesty which such a policy engenders comes home in the end to roost. But the process is slow when the tradition of public service is as high as it once was in the Union, as an heritage from Cape Colony and from the administration of the northern provinces after 1902. Certainly the recorded behaviour of the police in recent weeks suggests that the deterioration inherent in Nationalist policy has set in and has become an acute menace to the maintenance of a civilized society. The preoccupation of the English-speaking population with mining,

industry and business generally, to the exclusion of both politics and government service, has played into the hands of the Government, which has had the wit to foster it by maintaining a tradition of sound finance at the Treasury and the Reserve Bank.



By Courtesy of the Editor of The Times

Important as these aspects of Nationalist policy are for the future of South Africa and of all its inhabitants, it is not they but *apartheid*, as the symbol of Nationalist native policy, that has drawn the hostile attention of the world at large. The word itself means no more than segregation and in origin is a clumsy hybrid begotten by the addition of a Dutch suffix to an English adverb. But it was designed to point a distinction between the familiar use of segregation as merely a guiding mark in a fluid world and the precise and comprehensive plan which the Nationalists believed they had devised. The

chief author of *apartheid* and its strongest and most unyielding advocate is Dr. Verwoerd, formerly Minister of Native Affairs and now Prime Minister of the Union. The kernel of his policy is the establishment of eight national homes for the Bantu in areas broadly coterminous with the present native reserves, each inhabited by the tribe or agglomeration of tribes now in occupation—the Xosa in the Transkei and Ciskei reserves, the Zulu in Zululand and other reserves in Central and Southern Natal, other tribes in their homelands in the North, Central and Western Transvaal. In these homelands the Bantu will be encouraged and assisted to develop a national life of their own, free from white encroachment, under the tribal authority of their chiefs working in time through such political institutions as they may devise. They will have their own schools and universities; since no improvement now conceivable in their farming methods can hope to keep pace with the growth of their numbers, they must have their own industries, owned and operated by themselves, and become a modern balanced society. They will remain a part of the Union, protected by it against aggression but with no voice in its government and no foreign relations.

The Urban Native

FOR the 6 million natives now working in the Union on the land and in every branch of industry, there is no place in this idyll of the national homes. For those are already overcrowded, and if they were not and the natives in the Union were invited or driven to repatriation, the whole economic structure of South Africa would be wrecked and Europeans and natives would sink together into irretrievable ruin. Accordingly the natives in the Union must remain and so long as they are in employment they must be properly housed by municipal and government action in their own locations, supervised and controlled by officials responsible to the Government and following the general policy prescribed for them from time to time. Movement within the Union and influx from the reserves in search of work which may not exist must be restricted and regulated to prevent a renewal of squatting by idle natives in filthy and insanitary hovels, dens of crime and agitation, on the outskirts of industrial areas. For that regulation the pass system is to hand, a system traditional in South Africa and accepted by all responsible European opinion as essential for the protection of the natives themselves. Tighten it up, say the Nationalists, hasten the provision of decent housing for natives in industrial areas and it will be possible to keep pace with the growth of secondary industry in the Union and by degrees to improve the standards of life of native industrial workers. If amongst them are some who in intelligence and character are found worthy of higher education it is right that they should be able to pursue that ambition and in time to constitute an *élite* of native doctors, lawyers, engineers and ministers of religion. Not only right but indispensable if our vision of complete Bantu societies in their homelands is ever to become a reality. But this must be achieved without any enlargement of the contacts between Europeans and Bantu. Universities like those of Cape Town, the Witwatersrand and Natal

which for years past have enrolled native, Indian and Coloured students and sent many of them out as competent, and some as distinguished graduates, must cease to accept them and must direct them to the special university colleges for men of their race which we are establishing.

That is the doctrine of *apartheid*, compressed no doubt into too brief a compass, but not, THE ROUND TABLE hopes, misrepresented or maligned. What has it achieved in the first brief years of its experiment and what are its prospects as a long-term policy? No one who has travelled in those lovely districts of the Transkei, Zululand and the Northern Transvaal, where the Bantu have lived in peace and in content for most of a century, can fail to be attracted by any plan which seeks to consolidate and enrich their life in these homelands. But it is impossible not to conclude that the Nationalist plan to that end is impracticable. It is impracticable in the first instance because it is founded on a fraudulent prospectus which makes no provision for, or any considered estimate of, the vast sums in capital and annual expenditure needed to carry it through or for the army of mentors and administrators first to be trained. It is impracticable again because it is open to doubts and queries to which there is no answer. Industries are to be developed—in areas far removed from the natural resources and the power without which industry today is meaningless; are their products to be admitted freely to the Union, in competition with the products of European industry? If mineral wealth is discovered in the homelands—and mineral wealth is always being discovered in South Africa—is it to be the property of the Bantu or of their protectors? Finally, it is impracticable because it cannot be made to fit into what is at the heart of the native problem today—the indispensable existence in the Union itself of 6 million natives—three-fifths of the native population—in daily contact with Europeans and subject to all the material and social pressures which bear on Europeans. To encourage them, as the Nationalist Government claims to do, to remain in touch with the tribal chiefs in the reserves to whom they, or at this date their fathers or even their grandfathers, owed allegiance is no substitute for a positive policy towards the Union natives themselves. Indeed, without that, communication is more likely to demoralize the reserves than to pacify the locations.

The one notable achievement of Nationalist native administration up to the present time has been in the Union. It has realized the urgency of the need for improvement in urban housing and has put money and drive into the work of slum clearance. Much of the moral effect of that effort has been thrown away by incompetent and even inhuman administration, in the application of the pass laws, so as to separate husband and wife, parents and children, and in the methods used to restore order after the recent emergency. These things are marks of callous folly which no one who knows the Afrikaners will believe to be in character with their generous and friendly nature. But the folly is unmistakable and it is all-pervasive. It has led the Government to eschew all consultation with responsible natives—and that in a country in which the fathers and grandfathers of these men regarded consultation with native chiefs as the beginning of wisdom in native affairs. It has led them to take a mean and unworthy view of the immediate practical

consequences of their legislation excluding any further non-European students from white universities. As the special institutions for Coloured people, Indians and Bantu were mainly only in the process of foundation when the Act so strangely entitled *An Act for the Extension of University Education* was passed, temporary provision was made for a limited number of new admissions to European universities after searching investigation by the university authorities and by the responsible Ministers. In the first list the University of the Witwatersrand included for the Minister of Education Arts and Science 235 recommended applications from Indians, Chinese and Coloured persons and for the Minister of Bantu Education 84 applications by Bantu (half of them residents in the Rand towns or in Pretoria). All but one of the first list were accepted by the one Minister and all but one of the Bantu rejected by the other. It will be obvious that as none of these people can under the ordinary law leave the country to study abroad, the prospect of any Bantu's obtaining an academic training until the new institutions are in being is exiguous. How, it may be asked, is this to be reconciled with the early establishment of self-contained societies in the Bantu homelands?

Two Inconsistent Policies

IF, as the world has already decided, the native policy of the Nationalist Government has failed, it is because that Government has attempted to carry through in a brief period two inconsistent policies. No native policy can be successful in the Union unless it is founded on justice and commands the assent of both white races. The Act of Union was a compact between Briton and Boer to form a South African nation as a new political entity. The Nationalists first repudiated the compact and established a racial dictatorship to the exclusion of their white fellow citizens from any effective part in government. They then forced through a native policy which many responsible men of their own race and many of the British minority did not believe was founded on justice and to which they have not assented. By their indifference to the great issues of politics, by their divided counsels and by their irresolute opposition all those who repudiate Nationalism have contributed to the tragic situation in which South Africa finds itself today, when it is celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of Union amidst the reprobation of the world and living under Emergency Regulations. There can be no easy recovery from this position, no recovery at all unless it comes from within and in the last resort from the prickings of conscience in the individual. It is no affair of THE ROUND TABLE to speculate on the political strains needed to bring about some regrouping of parties in the Union and the formation of a government which can command both the support of a strong majority of the two white races and the respect of the outside world. It is worth recording that there is sufficient evidence of honest doubt as to Nationalist policy in its own press and even inside the Government to warrant the belief that the seeds of change are taking root. If it were not for the unhappy attempt to murder Dr. Verwoerd, an attempt which probably turned his personal wrongs to his political advantage, disruption from within might have been nearer than it is.

When the time is ripe the first task of statesmanship in South Africa must be to restore tolerable political relations between Dutch and English, to extend to public affairs that willingness to work together freely and frankly which they have never ceased to show in mining, in industry and in business generally. It is not easy to see how without that the rapid deterioration in the relations between the European and non-European races can be arrested and turned back in its tracks. What the guiding lines of native policy are that a sober and responsible Parliament fully representative of both white races would seek to follow must rest in the future. Such a Parliament would certainly show no adherence to the facile contemporary jargon of democracy founded on universal suffrage. But it might be hoped that it would call to mind words used by Lord Milner when he was leaving South Africa in 1905 and "learn that the essence of wisdom in dealing with this problem is discrimination—not to throw all Coloured people, from the highest to the lowest, into one indiscriminate heap, but to study closely the differences of race, of circumstances, of degrees of civilization, and to adapt your policy intelligently and sympathetically to the requirements of each".

This is, and will remain, a South African problem. Nowhere else in the world do 3 million people, drawn from two strong and adventurous European stocks and long settled in their present home, live in the midst of 10 million natives, whose rise towards civilization, indeed whose survival, is as dependent as is their own on the maintenance of the complex economic structure built up around them. If a tolerable reconciliation of the claims of black and white can be arrived at, that can only be done in South Africa and by South Africans of all races. The best service that the British Commonwealth can render is to allow no one in the outside world to forget that the problem is unprecedented, to give encouragement and support when they are needed and frank and loyal criticism only when the rights of natural justice are seen clearly to have been disregarded.

PHILIP KERR

SOME PERSONAL MEMORIES

HAVING known Philip Kerr intimately since he first joined me in Lord Milner's office in Johannesburg in 1905, I felt I could not decline the request of the Editorial Committee of *THE ROUND TABLE* that I should contribute some personal notes about him following on the publication of Sir James Butler's biography of him.

This is despite the fact that I regard that biography as a comprehensive, scholarly, and impartial account, setting forth clearly all the activities of his career, and providing a clear picture of his personality. All I can do, having known him so well over so many years, is to add some personal memories of him as a dear companion and friend.

The sixth war number of *THE ROUND TABLE*, of March 1941, contained a glowing and truthful tribute to him by a great friend and member of the Editorial Committee, written immediately after his death, when the present writer was away from England in South America. What is wanted from me is not either a repetition of what is contained in that article nor in the full life-history to be found in Sir James Butler's book, but rather some notes of an intimate friend, which attempt to throw some light on Philip Kerr's fascinating character.

Several reviewers have very naturally quoted Sir Winston Churchill's estimate of Philip as he knew him before his ambassadorship in Washington, "In all the years I had known him he had given me the impression of high intellectual and aristocratic detachment from public affairs. Airy, viewy, dignified, censorious, yet in a light and gay manner, he had always been good company." "Airy and viewy" he may have been at times and it is natural that Sir Winston Churchill should sometimes have differed strongly from his view of international affairs, e.g. in the "thirties", as indeed I did. But the last picture I should recall of him was that he was "dignified" or "censorious", or that he ever gave the impression of "aristocratic detachment". He had greater charm than any of his friends. He was absolutely equable in temper. He had very strongly held views but he never lost his temper in arguing in favour of them. He was sometimes careless in his dress and always perfectly natural and companionable with everyone from whatever class of society he or she might come. He was always optimistic and gay with a good sense of humour though not one so acute and penetrating as that of his friends Dougal Malcolm and Peter Perry. It was these characteristics, the combination of the Marquess and the natural somewhat untidy uninhibited brilliant and good-looking democrat, which made him so acceptable to all classes of American society when he was our Ambassador.

Mr. Raymond Mortimer, who recently reviewed Sir James Butler's *Life* in the *Sunday Times*, states that some people have accused Lord Lothian of having been "sly" and "cynical". I cannot imagine who can have thought

this. He was always frank and open to a fault. He had not a trace of cynicism. Perhaps on occasions it would have helped him if he had.

Until he became a Marquess and succeeded to great estates and splendid houses, he always avowed that the prospect of so doing was distasteful to him. But when all this happened, he at once became much interested in the welfare and doings of his many tenants and extremely proud of the beautiful houses and parks of which he was now the owner—Blickling, a glorious Elizabethan house; Monteviot, seated in the wonderful Border country; Newbattle Abbey, near Edinburgh; and Ferniehurst Castle, the most ancient of all. The factor who was responsible for many years for administering his Scottish estates could never speak highly enough in admiration of his ability to grasp all the many problems that arose.

Nor do I think Sir Winston was right in thinking he was ever "censorious". That is another epitaph I should never have attached to him. He was extremely open-minded; most generous towards others; in fact often in my view somewhat uncritical of men and of the real character of the international problems of countries of which he had no personal knowledge.

I first met him at New College, Oxford, which I had left shortly before, but I was still in Oxford at All Souls College. I left for Johannesburg in 1902. He came out as private secretary to Sir Arthur Lawley, the Lieutenant Governor of the Transvaal, in 1905. I was in Lord Milner's office in a lowly position for about two years till he created a body called the Inter-Colonial Council of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony, which was made the authority over the railways and the constabulary of the two Colonies. Lord Milner made me secretary of this Council, he being the chairman. He attached the greatest importance to the creation of this Council, which he thought would lead on to Federation. After about a year's working I told Lord Milner that there was too much work for one man and asked him to give me some help. I suggested Philip as a possibility. Sir Arthur released him and Philip worked as my assistant for about three years, until indeed it was clear that with the grant of responsible government the Inter-Colonial Council was coming to an end.

In addition to being very intelligent and hard working he was in every way the most attractive colleague one could have possibly wished for. We not only worked together but lived together in three or four different houses in Johannesburg with other members of the Kindergarten, e.g. Richard Feetham, who succeeded Lionel Curtis as town clerk of Johannesburg, John Dove, who succeeded Feetham in the same post, George Craik, who was legal adviser to the Chamber of Mines, all of us being New College men, and others who came in from time to time. Finally Feetham, who had after a period left the Town Council, intending to make his home and career in South Africa, built a delightful small house just outside the built-up part of the city where we all lived together for the last two years or so.

In addition Philip was a good games player, very good at lawn tennis, and I think about the best natural golf player I have ever met, having particularly a beautiful wrist for iron shots, which he seemed to play effortlessly. As he

approached middle age he put on a good deal of weight and his skill rapidly declined.

On looking at letters from me to my mother, which she kept, I find this sort of thing written in 1906, "I met yesterday Miss Violet Brooke Hunt (just out from England). She saw Philip the other day at a Ball and apparently at once fell in love with him. She said he looked like a Greek God and insisted on being introduced to him. Then she said he must ask her to dinner as she wanted to 'talk over life' with him. So we are going to send them out on the Stoep together after dinner tomorrow. Most women fall in love with him sooner or later, as far as my experience goes."

Reading my many letters to my mother leaves the impression that Philip and I had a most varied experience in our work. We were often going to Inter-Colonial Conferences on railway rates or customs matters and taking trips to go over new lines which were being built, or attending sessions of the Inter-Colonial Council itself or, on the very few occasions of a short holiday, when we could both leave the office together, taking treks into the bushveld or elsewhere.

Return to England

WE came home together in 1909 with the Delegation to the British Parliament from all the Colonies, bringing the new Union Constitution for approval. In the months before our leaving Philip had been editing a journal called *The State* founded by Lionel Curtis to advocate the Union. I had been secretary at the National Convention of the Transvaal Delegation and accompanied the Delegation home in that position.

In the years from 1909 to 1917, in which year I married, Philip and I lived in London together with some other members of the Kindergarten, e.g. Lionel Hitchens, John Dove and George Craik, but he and I never worked together again except on THE ROUND TABLE. Nevertheless, we constantly met either at Editorial Committee meetings of THE ROUND TABLE, or at Cliveden, or at my own house. Since I married a sister of Lady Astor, we were very frequently at Cliveden, as indeed he was.

Most of the Kindergarten, and I among them, after their return home, had to think how they were to earn their living, and they did so in various ways. Lionel Curtis had, I imagine, just enough to live on very modestly, but money meant nothing to him, so long as he was free to use his quite extraordinary powers of persuasion in "getting things done himself" or in making other people get his things done. Once in the House of Lords, Lord Carson, with whom THE ROUND TABLE were very friendly, was asked, "Who is Mr. Curtis?" He replied, "He is the man who brought Diarchy to India and Anarchy to Ireland."

Philip, I think, had very little money of his own then, but very great expectations. So long as he could get along and do the things he wanted to do, he too was content. His life from 1909 to 1916 consisted of editing THE ROUND TABLE, from 1916 to 1923, acting as secretary to Lloyd George as Prime Minister, then for a few months as political director of the *Daily Chronicle*, then roving journalism for two years or so, and in 1925 he was

appointed secretary of the Rhodes Trust, a work which I think he did supremely well, and which enabled him to travel all over the British Commonwealth and the United States. In the thirties, after becoming a Marquess, he paid, as is well known, two visits to Hitler, and in 1939 became our Ambassador to the United States. All this is set out with the utmost clarity and fairness in Sir James Butler's *Life*. Mr. Raymond Mortimer in his criticism refers to the "Mystery of Lord Lothian" and to his having possessed behind the scenes a power which no private person should be allowed to possess. If he did possess *undue* influence, it can only have been during the five or six years he was Lloyd George's secretary, and the fault, if any, was not the fault of Philip Kerr but of Lloyd George. Otherwise, except for his ambassadorship, his influence can only have come from the excellence of his writings or from his very successful work for the Rhodes Trust.

The Christian Scientist

BUT while there was no mystery such as Mr. Mortimer suspects, there is another mystery, a personal one. Why, for instance, did a man so intelligent, so good looking, so attractive to the opposite sex, so full of life and charm, never marry? And why, being born and educated as a Roman Catholic, the son of a father and mother both most ardent and devoted Catholics, did he become and remain a Christian Scientist? To find some clue we have to remember he was not the ordinary young Englishman or Scotsman, born of Protestant parents, who went to a private school and then, say, to Eton or Winchester. Supposing he had been the ordinary young Englishman he would almost certainly have not become a Christian Scientist. Like the great majority of such boys, and being so highly attractive to the opposite sex, he would too almost certainly have married. What I am saying in fact is that for good or ill the trend of his life was settled by his eight years—a long time at that age—at the Roman Catholic Oratory School, Birmingham. From his teachers there he imbibed over these long years the deep meaning of their spiritual life. He never forgot their teaching, though he left their Church. He was for the rest of his life a man for whom to have no definite religion was intolerable. He fought against leaving his own Church for years. He could not bear to level such a blow at his parents. But he told me that when he got to Oxford, and read the works of Bernard Shaw and others, they had a tremendous effect upon him. It was quite apparent indeed in South Africa that he was not an ardent Catholic. Yet he held out for long. I remember at the time I was living with him in London, perhaps in 1912 or so, I returned from Canada, where I had been on business, and found him in London waiting to see me. He wanted, he said, to ask me a question. He found he had become again an orthodox Catholic and was intending to go into a retreat to confirm his faith. Did I think that right? I said certainly if he felt it would help him. He did so but after two or three weeks he came out and said, "It has all gone again." He never did recover his faith. I am sure, however, he never contemplated joining the English or Scottish Church. Yet he had to have a faith, and therefore he must find a new one. In fact, in

his travels he went to see Gandhi to seek enlightenment, and he examined into Buddhism to see if he could find anything there.

But the Oratory to my mind—though I may be wrong—had another effect on him. He told me once that nobody could understand the world who did not realize what the monkish ideal meant. In addition he was very nervous, anyhow when quite young, and in my opinion quite rightly, that the female sex would be likely to pursue him. I have no doubt they did. For this reason he was inclined to be alarmed at them and thought them dangerous. At the same time he was by no means unaware of the charm of some of them. On the other hand he once said to me, "If you do feel attracted by someone and are going on a long journey don't take any photographs. You get tired of them."

Even after his long journeys abroad in 1911 and 1912 in search of health, it was clear after a few months that he must have still more time to recover, so he went off in January 1913 to the Continent for a long rest beginning first by joining at St. Moritz, Waldorf and Nancy Astor, whom already he knew well. Thus was laid, as Sir James Butler says, the firm foundation for a lasting friendship with both of them. He wrote soon to his mother to say "the bracing air and still more bracing company has entirely removed the depression which has weighed on me for a long time past. She (Nancy Astor) is not like anyone you have ever met before and it has made all the difference having her company and Waldorf's." But he was over-optimistic, for in October of the same year he again had to go abroad, visiting India and returning in March 1914, when he had an operation for acute appendicitis at the Astors' house at Sandwich. It was in the summer and autumn of 1913 that both he and Nancy had been giving some attention to an American movement called "New Thought". Later that year Nancy became a Christian Scientist. Philip joined her in so doing in the spring of 1914, and Waldorf a little later, though Philip did not officially become a member of any Christian Science Church till 1923. Both Philip and Waldorf remained ardent Christian Scientists to the end of their lives.

Philip recovered his health after a bit. From henceforth he had a religion in which he had, it appears, implicit belief, female companionship very congenial to him, hosts who shared the religious bond of Christian Science and their home, Cliveden, to which he was welcome whenever he wanted to go there. So far as I know, from this time onward he abandoned any idea of marriage. None of his friends attempted to dissuade him from joining the Christian Science Church, but none of them joined him in so doing. It made no difference whatever to their close friendship.

In the early days of his membership of that Church I had many discussions with him about its doctrines. I did not think it would be a lasting conversion, but I was wrong. Our arguments led nowhere. He knew what I thought, and his view was that I had no understanding of his new faith. So we left it there.

If I compare the way my family was brought up, the contrast seems to me marked. We were a family of nine, though two brothers died young. We had entire freedom to think any thoughts we wanted to. My father never spoke to us of religion. I gathered he was an agnostic. We were very fond

of him, but it was still the Victorian age, and I only once remember him on the nursery floor. My mother held to her religion strongly but did not press it on us, though we went to church every Sunday morning. Philip on the other hand had a little chapel forming part of his father's house at Dalkeith with, I think, a daily service. My father and mother both wanted one, or if possible two, of their sons to be clergymen, but for different reasons. My mother because she was a devout churchwoman, my father because he owned one or two "livings" and also devoutly wished to provide for anyhow two sons by giving them by this means a livelihood and, so to speak, disposing of them. But none of them was willing. I was thought to be the most likely and at one time I got as far as wishing to be a schoolmaster, but only because as far as I could see it was the only means of going on playing fives every afternoon—a game I loved. My brothers, who all became soldiers or sailors, were disgusted at the thought of having a schoolmaster as a brother. I give this brief glimpse of my own family to show how differently we were brought up from Philip, and how differently, for good or ill, we should be likely to view the world.

Lord Ralph Kerr, who was a delightful man, just as Lady Anne was a wonderful woman, followed with deep earnestness Philip's spiritual progress at the Oratory, in contra-distinction to our own complete freedom. I clearly remember when I was about ten, lying on the grass on Reigate Common with a friend of mine at my private school, discussing, I suppose religion, and looking up at the blue sky and expressing my firm opinion that "eternal punishment" was absurd. Yet I can truthfully say that in his last years after he had become a Christian Scientist he seemed more and more fully to lead day by day in all his doings a truly Christian life.

A Citizen of the World

PHILIP left the editorship of *THE ROUND TABLE* in 1917, but he continued to write articles, particularly after 1920, until he left for Washington in 1939. Sir James Butler has ascertained from the records of *THE ROUND TABLE* that Philip contributed 86 articles, all on international affairs, to the first 117 numbers of the magazine.

With his years in South Africa, his travels in search of health in Asia, the United States and elsewhere, with his further extensive travels for the Rhodes Trust, Philip had acquired a very wide knowledge of the world, particularly of the United States. Independent journalism and travel was what he liked. He had got accustomed to freedom. Politics, membership of a political party, and membership of the House of Commons, did not appeal to him, perhaps because he knew he was bound to become a member of the House of Lords. The ambassadorship did appeal to him strongly because he was, so to speak, his own master, to succeed or not succeed according to his own talents and wisdom. He succeeded to the full because of his own great talents and because he had already learned what the United States was like and what Americans were like. The tragedy is that his life was cut short so abruptly. When he died I was in South America as a member of the Willingdon Mission. I had a last chance of seeing him because our ship had a collision in the

Mersey and her sailing was delayed for four days. He had just flown to London from Washington for a few days. I went to London and had my last brief sight of him. A month or more later Lord Willingdon and I were at Buenos Ayres sitting after dinner with the Ambassador, Sir Esmond Ovey. The telephone rang, Sir Esmond went to it and said "Good God". We asked, "What is it?" He said, "Lothian is dead." This totally unexpected news was a deep shock to me. A month or two later I reached Washington from Panama and remained there more than five years. I learned all that there was to be learned about Philip's illness when I arrived. Philip had a Christian Science secretary and a Christian Science chauffeur. He was known to be not well and was said to be receiving treatment from a Christian Science healer. Whether he knew or anybody else knew he was so near death I do not know. Everyone had known for some time he was not at all well, though no one would say, looking at his photograph on the steps of the Embassy, which appears in his *Life*, that he then looked very ill. I think it certain that if a little earlier Philip had known that an operation would prolong his life, and so enable him to continue to serve his country in his very important post, he would not have hesitated to have one.

What can one say about the influence he exercised in all his different spheres of life, as a member of the Kindergarten in South Africa, as Editor of *THE ROUND TABLE*, as special private secretary to Lloyd George, as secretary to the Rhodes Trust, as Under-Secretary of State for India and chairman of the Indian Franchise Committee, and as Ambassador to the United States. It represents a strikingly varied career. Sir James Butler's book shows how great a value all those for whom he worked placed upon his services. About his very great abilities no one could have any doubt. Neither Philip nor Lionel Curtis, nor the rest of *THE ROUND TABLE* Committee succeeded in their aim of federating the British Commonwealth. Curtis remained all his life an apostle of the Federation of the Commonwealth or Federation of the Commonwealth with the United States or World Government. Philip, while often differing from him, remained more or less faithful though after his death Lionel always asserted that Philip agreed with him in every respect. The rest of us, including F. S. Oliver and Sir William Marris, were much more doubtful. So far as I am concerned I loved Lionel and had the utmost admiration for him as a man of action, but I differed from him as regards what was practicable or not more or less for forty years.

Hitler's Germany

BETWEEN Philip's years of influence at *THE ROUND TABLE* the world certainly did not go our way. A study of his 86 articles written between November 1910 and October 1939, by some competent historian, together with his last speech at Baltimore on December 11, 1940, addressed to the American Farm Bureau Federation, which was read for him as he lay dying would reveal the governing principles which guided him in foreign affairs much better than anything I can say.

One important though short period in Philip's life was when he went

with Lloyd George to the peace conference, living with him in his villa in Paris. I saw something of him then, since I was secretary to Lord Robert Cecil in his capacity as chairman of the Supreme Economic Council. In particular he looked to me for advice on the burning question of German reparations.

I remember Philip asking me to come to dine with Lloyd George and him to discuss this question. When I got to the villa Philip met me at the front door and said, "Cock it as high as you can" meaning reparations. "He is having great difficulties with the French." I said, "I can't cock it higher than I think right." None the less I think I did cock it too high. My recollection is I said a maximum of £3,000 million. The Treasury had fixed a maximum of £2,000 million. I think the figure finally agreed as a guide to the Reparations Commission was £6,600 million. Our representatives to advise Lloyd George on reparations were Lord Cunliffe, Governor of the Bank of England, and Lord Sumner, the Judge, both of whom, according to Keynes who was representing the Treasury at the peace conference, were suffering from "Senile Teutophobia".

I mention this question for this reason. My strong belief is that reparations, as exacted in the First World War, led on to the ghastly inflation in Germany and to the seizure of the Rhineland by Poincaré. The German inflation, of which the British had no conception, in turn by ruining all the stable classes opened the door to Hitler, and his re-seizure of the Rhineland led on to war.

Reparations and inflation and other causes led on, also through various stages, to a tremendous economic and financial crash in 1929-31, which also eased the path for Hitler and so on to war. After the Second World War Marshall Aid for Europe, the exact opposite of reparations, enabled Europe rapidly and peacefully to recover.

Poincaré was responsible for the enormous pressure by the French for impossible reparations.

I say all this because it leads me to say a word or two about Philip's attitude to Germany, Hitler and Munich in the late thirties, for which he has been blamed. He was right in thinking Germany had been very badly treated by the French, particularly over reparations, and right in thinking this had been disastrous to Germany. But I do not think he was right in thinking that Germany was encircled and must have colonies in order to live, and so on. After all, it seems as if we shall have no colonies shortly and probably may not notice much change economically. Philip possibly may have had some feeling of remorse at the terms of the Allied reply to the German observations on the peace treaty, which he drafted and which Clemenceau and Wilson agreed to without altering a word. I saw it at the time and told Philip I thought it too extreme. He may have wanted, in Hitler's time, to make amends. But what neither he nor Chamberlain, Halifax nor Geoffrey Dawson I think understood was the sort of people he was dealing with in Hitler, Goering, Goebbels and Co. I did not realize *all* they were capable of, but knew more than these did. I happened from 1931 to 1937 to spend six weeks every winter in Berlin attending standstill meetings every day in the Reichsbank to discuss with the German debtors and all the other creditor countries

what could be done about the payment of German banking debts. Mr. Frank Tiarks and I were the representatives of the British banks.

In Berlin, during each of those years, I saw the growth of Hitler's power, the lunatic state of German public opinion, the endless processions down Unter-den-Linden, the two armies—the German Army and the Hitler Army—each in different uniform. It was a crazy period. I remember going with a young Austrian friend to a Furtwangler charity concert in the hall of my hotel, the Esplanada Hotel, afterwards destroyed in the war. When we got in, to my surprise I saw within 20 feet of me in a box only just raised above floor level, Hitler, Goering and his wife, Goebbels and his wife, Blomberg and one or two more. I said to my young friend, "If I had a hand grenade I could get them all." He said, "For God's sake don't say that here." I have often thought: would I if I had had a hand grenade have thrown it? If I had known all the future I hope I would have thrown it. If I had not known the future, I probably would not have thrown it.

These are the sort of feelings Hitler's Germany produced in me but, until the war was almost on us, I could not get some others, including Philip, to see Hitler as I thought he was.

I do not blame Philip. He knew many other countries well. He did not, as Sir James Butler points out, know Germany or the lunatic Germany created by Hitler. Perhaps I might interject here a word or two about the legend of the "Cliveden Set". There was never any such "Set" nor have I ever seen in print the names of those who were supposed to have formed it. It seems to be assumed that most of those responsible for *THE ROUND TABLE* magazine were implicated, yet among them the most diverse views were held on foreign affairs. As far as I can remember, we never met as a whole at Cliveden during these critical years in question to discuss foreign affairs or the German problem in particular. I suppose Philip and I were those most frequently there. Politics apart it was natural I should be there, because I had married Lady Astor's sister, yet my views were different from Philip's, though it was with him that Lord Astor generally agreed. Of course from time to time others of *THE ROUND TABLE* group also spent a weekend at Cliveden but so did many others more famous and powerful. Indeed over many years the Cliveden visitors' books must contain an absolutely unparalleled number of famous names from very many countries.

The World after Lothian

IN general of course and during the years from 1910 to 1939, world history and the history of the Commonwealth took a course totally different from that which *THE ROUND TABLE* set out to advocate, and since Philip's death in 1939 this tendency has been carried much farther. Indeed the world today is faced by problems totally different even from those of 1939, mainly owing to the H-Bomb, but also owing to the huge resurgence of Russia and China, and indeed Africa.

It may be thought the ideals preached particularly by Lionel Curtis and Philip have been realized to some extent by the United Nations, but the realization is some way off. Philip's view was that totally separate nations

meant in fact international anarchy and he was always far more optimistic than I was of what could be achieved quickly. But any solution can only come very slowly. There seems no answer in hoping for the adoption by all countries of the principles of the British Constitution. Who can contemplate with ease the thought of a world general election?

Nevertheless, while the world is changing at an unparalleled speed, Philip's philosophy of international relations, and of world union, however difficult this may have seemed to some of us, may be shown by the future to have great relevance to the world of today. Conceivably and strangely enough the hydrogen bomb may ultimately prove to be the main influence in leading to his vision of universal peace.

SOUTH AFRICA IN TURMOIL

FROM BOYCOTT TO ASSASSINATION

AT the time that this is being written it is quite impossible to attempt either an analysis or an assessment of the events of the last two months, which have shaken South Africa to its political, moral and social foundations. An adequate analysis must await the outcome of judicial and other inquiries which are in progress and the events can only be fully assessed in the light of what happens in the course of the next few months. For THE ROUND TABLE record the best that can be offered is a brief and roughly chronological survey.

The year opened with the boycott campaign in Britain and in a few other countries getting under way. There was evidence of anxiety in some South African quarters, but the tendency was to dismiss the movement as the work of cranks abroad and of "liberal" mischief-makers at home. Parliament met earlier than usual in what it was said would be a "calm and peaceful" session, devoted to non-controversial legislation as a preliminary to an early adjournment for the 50th anniversary celebrations on May 31. About the only unusual feature were reports that the Basson movement was making progress.*

The first disturbance was created when Dr. Verwoerd unexpectedly announced that he would introduce this session the legislation necessary to hold a referendum on the question of whether the country should become a republic. He coupled this with the information that, in spite of assurances to the contrary made by numerous Nationalist leaders in the last twenty years, he would regard a majority of one as sufficient authority for proceeding with the necessary constitutional legislation. All hope of a peaceful session disappeared with this announcement and all opposition groups promptly indicated that they would oppose a Verwoerd republic on this basis. A bare majority was regarded as a breach of faith, the exclusion of the Coloured voters was interpreted as an unwise rebuff to a loyal and civilized section of the community and Sir De Villiers Graaff in particular warned the Government that the decision to remain in the Commonwealth would not necessarily rest with South Africa.† Until graver events intervened, the republican controversy was becoming as bitter as anything in the history of the last decade, with Dr. Verwoerd going as far as stating that even if he lost the referendum he would proceed with his republican plans on the basis of a future parliamentary majority.

The first violence occurred with the Cato Manor massacres. Cato Manor is a location outside Durban, and one Sunday evening a party of policemen engaged on a routine liquor raid were set on by an enraged African mob and four White and five non-White policemen were murdered. Large detachments

* See THE ROUND TABLE, No. 196, Sept. 1959, p. 416.

† The statement issued at the close of the Prime Ministers' conference on May 13 makes it clear that this is so.—*Editor*.

of police in Saracen tanks and armed with automatic weapons cleaned up the area in the course of the following few days, but the event aroused a great deal of anxiety to which expression was given inside and outside Parliament. Spokesmen for the Government blamed "agitators" and promised better police arrangements for the future, while United Party and Progressive Party speakers urged that the incident was a symptom of a fundamentally unsound racial situation.

"The Wind of Change"

AT this stage Mr. Macmillan arrived at the end of his African tour and made his now famous "wind of change" speech. There has never been a speech to which so much attention has been paid in South Africa. The sudden demonstration that South Africa was so far out of step that even friendly Britain was forced to disown us, in the polite but unmistakable terms used by Mr. Macmillan, came as a shock. Even the hard core of Nationalism was impressed, although later there were some isolated cries of defiance, and on the outskirts of the party there appeared the first evidence of a tendency to review latter-day Nationalist policies. Mr. Basson's group let it be known that they had advanced to the length of contemplating Coloured representatives of the Coloured people in the Senate; and much attention was given to a little book by the former Chief Justice, Mr. Fagan. Mr. Fagan, who was a Minister of Native Affairs in the Hertzog Government, analysed our affairs in terms which amounted to a radical criticism of the philosophy and administration of the Verwoerd *apartheid* policy.

A few weeks later it gradually became clear that the Africans in the large urban centres were planning a demonstration against passes. This came to a climax on March 21, the day African protesters were called on to go to police stations and invite arrest for being without their pass-books. The origins of the campaign are not clear. It seems that in the beginning it was planned by the comparatively moderate African Nationalist Congress and that later the more extreme dissident movement, the Pan-African Congress, moved in, apparently to anticipate a later protest planned by the A.N.C. The actual events of March 21 are being investigated by judicial commissions and cannot be disentangled here. In broad outline, a small force of policemen were faced with a menacing crowd of 20,000 Africans at Sharpeville, near Johannesburg, opened fire and killed about 80 and injured many more. In a similar situation in Langa location, near Cape Town, the police also opened fire and altogether three people lost their lives.

The immediate consequence was a series of violent attacks on South Africa from almost every quarter of the world. The pace was set by the United States where, within 24 hours of the Sharpeville shootings, the State Department issued a sharply worded and very deliberate statement "deploring" the events. This statement was indignantly criticized as unwarranted interference in our domestic affairs, but other attacks from official and unofficial bodies all over the world became too many for an attempt at individual replies. They included a heated anti-South-African debate in the Dutch Parliament and a calmer but no less pointed debate in the United Kingdom House of

SOUTH AFRICA IN TURMOIL

FROM BOYCOTT TO ASSASSINATION

AT the time that this is being written it is quite impossible to attempt either an analysis or an assessment of the events of the last two months, which have shaken South Africa to its political, moral and social foundations. An adequate analysis must await the outcome of judicial and other inquiries which are in progress and the events can only be fully assessed in the light of what happens in the course of the next few months. For THE ROUND TABLE record the best that can be offered is a brief and roughly chronological survey.

The year opened with the boycott campaign in Britain and in a few other countries getting under way. There was evidence of anxiety in some South African quarters, but the tendency was to dismiss the movement as the work of cranks abroad and of "liberal" mischief-makers at home. Parliament met earlier than usual in what it was said would be a "calm and peaceful" session, devoted to non-controversial legislation as a preliminary to an early adjournment for the 50th anniversary celebrations on May 31. About the only unusual feature were reports that the Basson movement was making progress.*

The first disturbance was created when Dr. Verwoerd unexpectedly announced that he would introduce this session the legislation necessary to hold a referendum on the question of whether the country should become a republic. He coupled this with the information that, in spite of assurances to the contrary made by numerous Nationalist leaders in the last twenty years, he would regard a majority of one as sufficient authority for proceeding with the necessary constitutional legislation. All hope of a peaceful session disappeared with this announcement and all opposition groups promptly indicated that they would oppose a Verwoerd republic on this basis. A bare majority was regarded as a breach of faith, the exclusion of the Coloured voters was interpreted as an unwise rebuff to a loyal and civilized section of the community and Sir De Villiers Graaff in particular warned the Government that the decision to remain in the Commonwealth would not necessarily rest with South Africa.† Until graver events intervened, the republican controversy was becoming as bitter as anything in the history of the last decade, with Dr. Verwoerd going as far as stating that even if he lost the referendum he would proceed with his republican plans on the basis of a future parliamentary majority.

The first violence occurred with the Cato Manor massacres. Cato Manor is a location outside Durban, and one Sunday evening a party of policemen engaged on a routine liquor raid were set on by an enraged African mob and four White and five non-White policemen were murdered. Large detachments

* See THE ROUND TABLE, No. 196, Sept. 1959, p. 416.

† The statement issued at the close of the Prime Ministers' conference on May 13 makes it clear that this is so.—*Editor*.

of police in Saracen tanks and armed with automatic weapons cleaned up the area in the course of the following few days, but the event aroused a great deal of anxiety to which expression was given inside and outside Parliament. Spokesmen for the Government blamed "agitators" and promised better police arrangements for the future, while United Party and Progressive Party speakers urged that the incident was a symptom of a fundamentally unsound racial situation.

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Commons. The criticism abroad came to its climax when the Security Council passed a resolution aimed against South Africa, with only Britain and France abstaining. As a result Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld is to come to South Africa in July at what Mr. Eric Louw has described as the "invitation" of the Union Government. Mr. Hammarskjöld has made it clear that the invitation in no way implies prior recognition of the competence of the United Nations to intervene in South Africa's internal affairs. Two months ago even such an "invitation" and such a visit would have been unthinkable.

Declaration of Emergency

ON the home front the first step was an announcement that the regulations relating to the production of passes were temporarily suspended. In Cape Town in particular there were massive demonstrations by Africans, tens of thousands of whom marched on the centre of the city to hand in their passes and invite arrest. The discipline was good and the huge crowds returned in an orderly fashion to the locations after the police had refused to arrest them. At the time of writing, when order has been restored, the requirements for passes have been fully reimposed. In some areas there was some ceremonial burning of passes, but this has not apparently taken place on a large scale.

Then came the declaration of a state of emergency under the Public Safety Act, 1953, and the promulgation of regulations which provide for summary arrest and detention without trial, the closing down of newspapers thought to be "subversive" and the creation of special crimes relating to subversion, incitement and causing ill-will between the races. At the same time a number of Defence Force regiments were called out. Many hundreds of men and women of all races have been arrested; but, in terms of the regulations, their names cannot be revealed. Dr. Verwoerd is reported to have given assurances that those detained will eventually be brought before the ordinary courts for trial on statutory charges. Two weekly newspapers of Left-wing opinion have been closed down and the Liberal fortnightly, *Contact*, has temporarily ceased publication. The ordinary daily press is showing caution in reporting local events and there has been a corresponding increase of interest in overseas journals and in the B.B.C. news service.

The African protests came to a climax with the declaration of a "day of mourning" for the Sharpeville victims and scores of thousands of Africans stayed away from work, assisted by widespread intimidation in the form of physical violence or threats of physical violence. The stay-away lasted for about a week, with varying degrees of success in different parts of the country. To break this protest the Government mobilized troops on a massive scale around the locations and arrested "agitators" and "intimidators" by the hundred. It was at this time that there occurred in Cape Town widespread "beating-up" of Africans in the locations and on the streets by groups of policemen. There were complaints in the newspapers and in Parliament that this action could not be reconciled even with the emergency regulations and within two days it was stopped. Details are not available, in spite of vigorous

questioning of Ministers in Parliament, and reports in the local newspapers are incomplete. There is, however, ample evidence that whatever it is that went on in Cape Town during that period has done South Africa more harm abroad than anything else during the crisis.

In Parliament the Opposition parties supported the Government in their attempts to restore law and order. The United Party also supported a Bill designed to apply to the African Nationalist Congress and the Pan-African Congress the provisions of the anti-communism laws and to ban them for a year. A proclamation of banning can then be renewed, if in the opinion of the Executive the activities of these bodies constitute a serious danger to public safety or to the maintenance of law and order. The Progressives refused to support what they considered a dangerous measure for the elimination of what they regarded as about the only vehicle for the expression of African opinion. All the Opposition parties insisted that the Government should take prompt steps to relax permanently the severity of the pass laws, to recognize the urban African as a permanent part of the working population and to provide proper channels for the consultation and ascertaining of African opinion.

The Prime Minister Shot

AFTER sporadic disturbances and some shooting at Worcester, Johannesburg and Durban an uneasy peace had settled over the country when an attempt was made to murder the Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd. The occasion was the peaceful opening ceremony of the Rand Jubilee Exposition, and the would-be assassin, who is a white man, is a wealthy, middle-aged, English-speaking farmer from a neighbouring area. He has been detained in terms of the emergency regulations instead of being brought before a court in the ordinary way, so little is yet known of his motives. There is evidence, however, that he is an eccentric individual and it is quite clear that the murder attempt was an isolated as distinct from a planned or concerted event. Dr. Verwoerd shows every promise of recovering fully and within a fortnight had made sufficient progress to be able to issue from his sick-bed an order that Mr. Eric Louw should represent him at the Commonwealth Conference in London.

Other events have been the flight to Swaziland of Bishop Reeves, of Johannesburg, apparently because he feared arrest and the loss of certain evidence which he wished to place before the Sharpeville inquiry; a sort of declaration of war by Archbishop De Blank on the Dutch Reformed Churches because of those churches' support of ideological *apartheid*; and the arrest of a Canadian journalist in circumstances which indicate ham-handedness rather than a deliberate attempt to interfere with the reporting abroad of South Africa's unhappy affairs.

At the time of writing peace has been restored in the physical sense but feelings are running high in the political arena. All these events have undoubtedly shaken the Government very severely and there is much evidence that Dr. Verwoerd's position has been weakened within the party. Because of internal strains, chiefly arising from the long-standing differences between

the Cape and the Transvaal, it was not found possible to appoint an Acting Prime Minister. The Verwoerd section of the Nationalist Party, as interpreted by its newspapers and by known Verwoerd supporters, seems to be standing firm on its old policies, but there is a marked move to reform in other sections of the Nationalist Party. Mr. Paul Sauer, the senior Cabinet Minister and a Cape stalwart, pointedly called for a revision of Native policy and in doing so echoed a demand which has been coming throughout the crisis from the *Burger*, the senior Nationalist newspaper in the Cape.

The divergent statements of Mr. Sauer and of Ministers who are known to be personal supporters of Dr. Verwoerd have become so marked that Opposition leaders are talking openly of fundamental differences of opinion within the Government.

South Africa,

May 1960.

A GIRDLE ROUND THE EARTH

CIVIL AVIATION AND THE COMMONWEALTH

BASICALLY, aviation has given two vital services to the Commonwealth: it has lowered the time barrier between the component countries and has simplified—and in some cases made possible—exploration and development of primitive and undeveloped areas.

Only thirty years ago a flight to Australia was considered a most hazardous affair to be contemplated only by the most intrepid pioneer. Administrators, business men, explorers and others intent on fostering the Commonwealth's development had no alternative but to make lengthy sea voyages, no matter how urgent their undertakings. In the course of so few years aviation has shortened to a matter of hours the time between the Commonwealth's farthest-flung capitals. Not only has it vitalized trade and commerce, it has made an immense contribution to closer inter-race understanding in this brotherhood that shelters so many peoples of differing colour, race and creed. This has been illustrated most graphically by the travels of royalty—symbol of the bond between the Queen's overseas realms. Since the war members of the royal family have flown many thousands of miles in making themselves personally known in even the most inaccessible regions.

While the development of larger and faster aircraft has brought the countries of the Commonwealth closer together, completely different adaptations of civil transportation have made possible the exploitation of the resources of undeveloped regions. Rugged machines carry a multitude of essential provisions to and from isolated outposts in areas where difficult terrain and climate and the need for economic operation exclude more sophisticated airliners.

A post-war realization of the many and varied tasks that aircraft can tackle more efficiently than any other machine has resulted in their use in agriculture, pest control, surveying, ambulance work and building—to cite but a little of the work now undertaken.

International Development

THE practical feasibility of producing large aircraft capable of carrying heavy loads was proved during the First World War. With the cessation of hostilities the big problem of converting a powerful new military arm into a social service had to be faced.

At first British companies concentrated on forming domestic and European networks, although the need for bringing aviation to the Commonwealth was always thought a pressing requirement.

Typical of the pioneer European services was Handley Page Transport Ltd., which was founded in June 1919 to become one of Britain's first commercial air transport companies. In August it established a London-Paris service, which was followed within a month by one to Brussels. Each operated

daily in both directions. Operations were consolidated and extended and in 1920 lines to other European capitals were started. Companies, flying converted Handley Page o/400 heavy bombers, were formed in 1919 to promote air travel in such places as South Africa, Burma and India. Without exception all these early efforts proved premature and it was not long before the young companies went into liquidation. However, after the Armistice Sir Geoffrey Salmond, then Major-General, had flown a Handley Page o/400 from Cairo across the desert to Damascus and Baghdad, on to Karachi and then across India to Calcutta. Later, two Australian brothers, Captain R. and Lieutenant K. Smith, made the first flight from Britain to Australia in a Vickers Vimy in November 1919. This achievement was closely followed by a flight from Britain to Cape Town, by Pierre van Rynveld and Captain Quintin Brand in February 1920.

During the 'twenties the countries of the Commonwealth awoke to the necessity of providing air transport facilities. In Australia the Queensland and Northern Territory Aerial Services (now abbreviated to QANTAS) began its first regular service between Charleville and Cloncurry. Imperial Airways was formed in 1924 as the British Government's "chosen instrument" for developing aerial transportation. It acquired the airlines of Handley Page Transport, Instone Air Lines, Daimler Airways and British Marine Air Navigation. Thus it became the unit primarily responsible for the development of air networks at that time.

The immediate Imperial Airways programme called for the continuation of existing services in Europe and the investigation of long-range oversea flights. For some years economic and equipment difficulties made possible only route-survey flights, but the many vicissitudes were gradually overcome. At the end of the decade services were being run to India, in collaboration with the Indian State Air Service. Thereafter, on April 27, 1932, the first with the Indian State Air Service. Thereafter, on April 27, 1932, the first regular London to Cape Town flight left London to inaugurate a 9- to 11-day service. Two years later Qantas Empire Airways became the officially recognized Australian oversea airline and, assisted by Imperial Airways, inaugurated the first regularly scheduled air-mail flight from London to Australia. So, during the inter-war years, aviation had developed into a formidable competitor with conventional forms of transportation.

There were many reasons, besides the fare-paying passengers' natural scepticism about travelling by air, for the considerable time lag in building up a global network of routes. Not least was the total lack, before the 'thirties, of aircraft capable of carrying large enough loads over long enough distances to make them economic propositions to potential operators. Even if these aircraft had been available the lack of adequate radio facilities held back the development of oversea services.

In the early 'thirties, however, a new generation of efficient large aircraft came on the scene. Typical of these were the luxurious H.P. 42 four-engined airliners which, during their nine years of safe service, did much to popularize flight. They were introduced into Imperial Airways' routes in 1931 and, besides being the backbone of European networks, they

operated semi-tropical mail services between London and Karachi and also to Kisumu on the shores of Lake Victoria.

Commonwealth Co-operation

SINCE the initial development of long-range oversea networks linking Commonwealth countries, Britain's national oversea airline has repeatedly assisted less-developed countries to inaugurate and operate their own airlines. The first striking example of this came with the realization of the dream to link England and Australia—12,000 miles apart—and the score of lands between. On December 8, 1934, the Kangaroo route was begun when an Imperial Airways Handley Page H.P. 42 airliner left London carrying a load of mails for Australia. Two days later the Qantas section of the route between Brisbane and Singapore was opened by the Duke of Gloucester. At first only mails were taken, but by April 1935 a 12-day passenger service was being flown. Now, twenty-five years later, a co-operation agreement is still in operation between B.O.A.C. and Qantas with pure jet services operated jointly by both airlines. Today B.O.A.C. Comet airliners and Qantas Boeing 707s fly over the route eight times a week in each direction in under 40 hours.

B.O.A.C. also operates similar partnership arrangements with such airlines as South African Airways and Indian Airways. These typify the continuing tendency for B.O.A.C. to pursue policies of close co-operation and pooling with the object of economizing expense and of avoiding wasteful competition without depriving the expanding air-travelling public of any necessary services. The development and extension of the scope of partnerships is a deliberate policy to achieve the highest practical degree of co-operation between Commonwealth countries.

Another way by which B.O.A.C. has assisted Commonwealth countries has been through its interest in associated and subsidiary companies. The Corporation has considerable responsibility for administration and operation of fourteen small airlines, mostly within the Commonwealth. The capacity offered by these companies is almost 100 million ton-miles and they operate more than forty four-engined aircraft and over eighty twin-engined ones.

One of B.O.A.C.'s chief interests is to develop the feeder-line value of these networks, from which the Corporation can draw traffic into its main trunk routes and thus link smaller nations within the Commonwealth. This service made available to undeveloped countries has not proved profitable to B.O.A.C. (or the British taxpayer). Indeed the costs involved have been in no small way responsible for the Corporation's losses since its inception.

Under-developed territories within the Commonwealth have considerable reason to thank B.O.A.C. The fine new aerodromes of its trunk routes are indirectly serving these outback regions. Such modern equipment is expensive and B.O.A.C. foots the bill for it. This is illustrated when one compares the £42,000 cost of an H.P. 42 airliner of the 'thirties with that of a modern jet airliner at £1,750,000.

Domestic Air Transport

THE development of the Commonwealth's international airways systems moved in logical progressions, each advance resulting directly from the

availability of suitable aircraft, from the amount of co-operation between nations' airlines and from financial and other aid bestowed by governments and international bodies. Much the same applied to many domestic services, but in a lesser degree. Specialized projects, such as using aircraft to aid industry, were out of the public eye and in most cases received little or no help. Much is owed by the Commonwealth to the unsung pioneers who, through their own perseverance and ingenuity, paved the way for the rapid opening up of outback regions by specialized use of the aeroplane. An indication of the way in which aircraft made their immense contribution to inter-war development of primitive areas is seen in the following story:

After three years service with Imperial Airways' fleet a three-engined aircraft was, in 1930, made available to a New Guinea gold-mining company. It had to be crated for shipment to Port Moresby and on arrival had to be reassembled in the worst possible conditions with native labour. Thereafter, it was wheeled by manpower to an airstrip three miles away and test-flown before going on to the goldfields. In intensive service it transported men, stores and equipment from the coast to the mines at 3,500 feet in the interior on the far side of a 6,000-foot mountain range. This journey by air took twenty-five minutes; yet the same trip overland took months when heavy equipment had to be man-handled through dense jungle. This venture proved a great success—while it lasted. However, after nine months of yeoman service, the "motor-car-along-Jesus"—as New Guinea cannibals called the aircraft—crashed.

This is only one example among thousands of the way Commonwealth countries became increasingly air-minded. Everyone of them can provide similar illustrations of the way in which aircraft were used to carry men, machinery and raw materials across barren desert or rugged terrain where no other method of transport was feasible.

Aiding Agriculture

AVIATION is making an ever-increasing contribution to modernizing agricultural technique. The vast cattle country of north-west Australia covers an area where road and railway communications are of poor quality and in some places non-existent. Australian cattle stations can be 5 million acres in extent and 500 miles from the nearest railway or harbour. Until a few years ago cattle herds had to be driven hundreds of miles to markets, with considerable losses and a deterioration of their condition. The Australian Air Beef venture, however, has now enabled the number of cattle marketed, amount of beef produced and exported and the number of hides tanned to increase many hundred-fold. At Glenroy, in the centre of the Kimberley cattle country, a large inland cattle-killing unit has been set up. Here steers from the many neighbouring stations are slaughtered and their carcasses flown to the chilled stores in Wyndham for export by sea or to be sent by rail to Perth.

Besides increasing the efficiency of national industries new developments such as this Australian beef project bring considerable advantages to the dependent communities. In this specific case local industry has centred itself

upon the meat works. Moreover, owners of cattle stations can now afford to import fencing, tools, fertilizers and the many sundry items associated with further opening up their outback region. It is no longer a novelty to use aircraft on the farm. As the demand for more food increases at a rate proportional to the ever-growing world populations so Commonwealth countries attempt to raise crop yields correspondingly. That this aim has been achieved to a considerable degree is due in no small measure to the increased use of fertilizers and insecticides applied from the air.

The greater use of aircraft for agricultural duties is due mainly to three distinct advantages they hold over ground equipment. These are: their ability to apply chemicals without damage to crops; their speed of operation; and their ability to reach areas inaccessible to ground machines. The first advantage is illustrated by the way that aerial spraying is now accepted as a normal part of routine forestry in Canada. Aircraft provide the only answer to devastating attacks by insects on the millions of trees in forests all over North America. Insects laid waste over 22,000 square miles of Canadian forest before entomologists decided to spray the areas affected from the air. The second advantage, speed of coverage, is shown by the aircraft's ability to spray or dust some forty times faster than a tractor. Sudden outbreaks of pests among crops can therefore be dealt with from the air before much damage is done. Over large areas, such as the vast cotton fields in Africa, treatment from the air is the only way of dealing with pests. Ground-borne methods take far too long to be effective. The third point—treatment of difficult terrain—again shows the aircraft's distinct advantage of being the only means by which such country can be effectively fertilized. This application was originally conceived in the sheep-lands of New Zealand, where steep highland pastures prevent the use of conventional machinery. In these regions aerial top-dressing is not an alternative method—it is the only method. Here, where the territory is formidable enough to exclude the use of tractors and other ground-borne methods of spreading fertilizers, some experts say that aerial top-dressing is capable of increasing New Zealand's meat and wool products by half in ten years.

New Zealand's top-dressing aircraft now total well over 300, which are regularly employed spreading more than 400,000 tons of fertilizer over sheep-farming territory. The location of airstrips in these hilly areas dictates the need for aircraft capable of very short take-off runs when fully loaded.

Former military and other converted types of aeroplanes have for some time been the backbone of these services. However, because of their pedigree they suffer from high structure weight; this gives the penalty of either comparatively small payloads and an acceptable performance or heavier loads with poor performance. These adaptations fulfilled an interim need. Now, however, the Commonwealth's aircraft constructors have realized that specialized aircraft designed to meet individual requirements of crop-dusting concerns are needed. This new generation of aeroplanes has made farming by air even more efficient and profitable. Compared with the commonly used converted training aircraft, they can spray over twice the area per hour at two-thirds the cost per acre. A typical new aeroplane now costs only between

£6 and £7 per hour to operate. As in this hour it can treat as much as 180 acres, the cost works out at only slightly over one shilling per acre.

There is world-wide realization that aircraft present unlimited opportunity for the development and improvement of marginal hill pasture. Now agricultural aeroplanes have become almost as common a sight flying low over pasture land in Scotland and Wales as over the highlands of New Zealand.

Medical Services

ONLY thirty years ago pioneers developing the vast interior of Australia went in fear of physical accidents or illness. Since that time it has been largely due to the initiation of aerial medical services that the occupation of remote and lonely places has been made more comfortably possible, that outback population has increased and that many isolated hospitals can operate.

To understand the need for Australia's now highly developed medical air services it is necessary to realize the size of the inland regions: about 2,000,000 square miles. This sparsely populated area, where sheep and cattle raising are the chief industries, is as large as Europe. Towns seldom have more than 1,000 inhabitants, there are few roads or railways and habitable regions are often separated by trackless mountain ranges, enormous grassy plains or deserts or other inhospitable terrain. Soon after the Great War it was clear that aircraft alone would be able to overcome Australia's huge distances and by 1921 the pioneer airlines were flying light machines from one remote township to another. It was then that the late Rev. Dr. John Flynn first envisaged an aerial medical service. Yet there were many problems to be overcome, even when the B.M.A. of Australia promised to make doctors available to the service. Doctors were of little value when there was no way of summoning them quickly to emergencies. However, by combining radio and the aeroplane, two epoch-making developments still in their infancy, Flynn found his solution.

The inception in 1928 of the first Flying Doctor Service, sponsored by the Australian Inland Mission, was largely experimental. But only two years later Dr. St. Vincent Welsh, who inaugurated the first service from the north-west Queensland town of Cloncurry, had flown 50,000 miles to render medical aid to outback stations. He used a light de Havilland aircraft; it was maintained and piloted by Qantas, then a small bush airline. Within a decade similar services were springing up throughout the inland regions. Today these all come under the nation-wide control of the Flying Doctor Service of Australia, although each state has its own distinct section which acts as an independent unit. Now these various sections are responsible for flying 350,000 miles while making over 1,000 flights each year.

In an age that takes aviation for granted, pilots flying ambulance services to Australia's outback territories exhibit unique skill. To aid them in bringing the most remote settlements within a few hours of the doctor or hospital bed they have few navigational aids in their aircraft, and there are no beacons or beams outback; landmarks are few and far between. Navigation depends largely on a personal knowledge of the country and on instinct. Sometimes

they embark on night flights with nothing but dark uninhabited plains below, and landings have to be made with improvised lights from car beams focused upon roughly made landing strips.

The Flying Doctor Service, however, has brought advantages into the outback other than the establishment of adequate medical services. From the primitive aerodromes laid down for Flying Doctor aircraft has grown a network of airborne passenger, freight and mail routes that link inland Australian stations, settlements, missions and townships. Also the majority of settlers are hundreds of miles from centres of communication—even telephone wires—and the introduction of the vast radio network developed for the Doctor Service is now the only possible means of bringing settlers within the orbit of the modern world.

Radio is not only used to summon doctors to domestic catastrophes in the outback; it enables consultation to be held from medical base stations and also passes a variety of messages with no relation at all to medical affairs. By arrangement with postal authorities, bases co-operate with normal telegraphic channels—receiving and transmitting messages to and from each radio outpost. In off-peak hours people hundreds of miles apart use this medium to discuss their personal affairs and occupations.

Aerial Surveys

WHEN the immense size of Commonwealth countries and the large regions of unexplored terrain are considered, it is not surprising that aircraft are now used extensively in their survey. For the rapid collection of all the vast amount of detailed information needed from these areas, no matter how inhospitable or remote, the aeroplane has become an indispensable instrument. The airborne camera, and the airborne array of geophysical instruments, can bring back to the administrator, scientist, prospector or archaeologist a mass of detailed records for interpretation in the laboratory. Upon the results of such a study, informed decisions can be made and plans laid before work on further exploration is begun.

Probably the first aerial survey was undertaken in Canada as early as 1923. The object of this initial operation was to sketch waterways, lakes and areas of merchantable timber. Since then this new way of adapting the aeroplane to aid man has been developed into an extensive and highly profitable industry.

The modern aerial-survey aeroplane carries an awesome array of complicated instruments. They are used in various combinations according to the type of survey needed. For a geophysical sortie, the instruments commonly carried aloft are: a radiation detector, which measures and records variation in the radio-activity on the surface of the earth below; a magnetometer, which records changes in total magnetic field, and an electro-magneto meter, which detects and records the presence of bodies in the ground which act as good electrical conductors.

On all geophysical-survey flying a photographic record—for subsequent positioning of the anomalies shown on the dials of geophysical instruments—is provided by a tracking camera. This takes a series of vertical photographs

every few seconds throughout the sortie. Records from these instruments together or separately are interpreted and subsequently used to compose geophysical maps for the exploration of oil and mineral deposits, for pasture improvement and soil surveys and even for the discovery of sites for building projects. In Africa, for example, 30,000 square miles were mapped for the purpose of choosing the best route for a projected railway line. In Northern Rhodesia 11,000 square miles have been looked at for a possible extension to the copper belt. In New Guinea, India and Africa many thousands of square miles have been prospected from the air in the search for oil.

Over- or under-developed land and soil erosion are quickly detected in photographs and volumes of timber per acre can be estimated with fair accuracy. Canada has led in the development of the technique for assessing the composition, wealth and best logging plan for her vast forests, using the newly developed aerial technique.

It will be seen that the tasks now undertaken by aircraft in the Commonwealth are many and varied. They are being used extensively to develop communications and to aid in the exploitation of the natural resources of outback regions. There are specialized aircraft to make easier the work of civil engineers, administrators, agriculturalists, missionaries, explorers and the like.

Already the helicopter is playing an even more important part than previously. It can undertake many tasks beyond the capabilities of conventional aircraft. Not only is it being used in regions inaccessible to other forms of transportation, but it is also being used for bridge building and other constructional tasks. The newly developed hovercraft machine is also soon likely to make its contribution. Within the next decade it can be expected that huge aircraft of this type will become a common sight carrying massive loads while skimming a few feet above the swamps, deserts and rivers of the Commonwealth.

A Jet-prop Work-horse

HOW will aircraft serving the Commonwealth differ in five or ten years time from those of the present day? Undoubtedly there will be many changes not only in the types of such aeroplanes but also in their duties. Since 1945 the battle-scarred D.C. 3 twin piston-engined aircraft, of pre-war vintage, has been the backbone of the domestic routes of the Commonwealth. After long years of yeoman service this tried and trusted work-horse is outmoded. In many regions it is unable to keep within current safety regulations and still retain a reasonable payload. All over the world governments are limiting the maximum take-off weights for the D.C. 3 and in some cases this has made their payload completely uneconomic. Now a generation of domestic airliners are being made to bring new standards of speed and comfort over medium-range networks. Typical of these is the British Dart Herald. This ruggedly built, high-performance, jet-prop aircraft has been designed specifically to modernize and expand the services now operated by D.C. 3s. It will not only bring new standards of comfort to passengers but

also make the development of services more profitable for the passenger- and freight-carrying airline operators of the Commonwealth. During the past year aircraft of this type have demonstrated their capabilities in forty-seven countries while flying over 160,000 miles on see-it-in-action tours.*

When equipped with *Heralds* many operators with networks that cover marginal regions will be relieved to know that their fleets can operate safely within the capabilities of the aircraft at all times and still have a considerable potential for the expansion of their routes.

On the international routes of the Commonwealth there are basically two needs to be satisfied in the near future; for advanced supersonic travel and for fast but cheap services. Of the two, the development of the latter is of more significance. For, although business men and administrators have the ever-present need for high-speed travel, it will be extremely costly and to be afforded by few people. First and foremost, the type of aircraft that will benefit the Commonwealth community most is one that will bring air transport within the pockets of many more people than at present.

This far-reaching requirement has been subject to much research by British aircraft constructors over the past years. From their intensive study it has been found that an entirely novel aerodynamic technique, based on controlling the air flow around an aircraft, will give hitherto unrealizable increases in range and load-carrying capacity with a corresponding reduction in operating costs. Such laminar flow airliners, as they are called, will give improved efficiency by using their engine power, not to bulldoze themselves through the air but to alter airflow radically in order to reduce resistance due to air turbulence.

How this new technique will benefit the Commonwealth can be appreciated by considering a typical laminar-flow airliner now on the drawing boards at Handley Page in England. This ambitiously designed transport, cruising at over 600 miles per hour, will be capable of flying non-stop from Britain to Australia with almost 200 passengers at costs only a fraction of those of existing conventional aircraft.

One further advantage of such an aircraft of the next generation is its independence of operation. No longer will airlines and passengers be subject to the international difficulties that since the war have restricted the economic operation of so many of the world's international airways. No longer will there be the need to use intermediate, and sometimes uncooperative, airline facilities of countries which separate the nations of the Commonwealth. All will be within non-stop flying range of each other.

* It does not, however, appear that any airline orders have yet been received.—*Editor*.

THE NEGRO IN AMERICA

UNSOLVED PROBLEM OF RACE

A DISCUSSION panel of the "Voice of America", carried on the V.O.A.'s English-speaking radio service, recently undertook to compare the racial disturbances in South Africa with those in the "solid South" of the United States. Obviously the South African rioting was adjudged to be far more serious than the lunch-counter picketing in the United States. There is a larger crisis element where blacks outnumber whites three to one, as they do in South Africa, than where they constitute only a tenth of the population, as in the United States (though in a few southern counties Negroes are in the majority).

Yet it is widely admitted in the United States that a new element is influencing the Negro's long struggle for social, political and economic equality. This element is a growing dissatisfaction, bordering on anger, among the Negroes themselves at the slow pace of desegregation following the historic Supreme Court school desegregation decision of 1954. Despite the Court's ringing pronouncement that the federal judiciary should move with "all deliberate speed" to terminate legally enforced segregation in the public (government-owned) schools of the various States, not enough has been happening, in the opinion of many Negroes. Simultaneously the hopes raised on the school front have spread over into other areas, including restaurants, public libraries, municipal parks—where Negroes have been denied desegregated facilities. A new generation of Negroes is impatient with their "Uncle Toms" who tolerate the old order. It is significant that the recent efforts to obtain sit-down service at variety-store lunch counters in the South has been largely the work of Negro college students. They are neat and orderly and they affect good clothes and good speech, sometimes in favorable contrast to the young white hoodlums and delinquents seeking to harass them.

The focal point of the Negro's battle, thus, has shifted from the courts to the market-place. This is of course a larger challenge to law and order at times. Unfortunately it has broken down some of the ancient contacts and avenues of understanding between white and Negro communities. It will require skilful handling if ugly outbreaks and riots are to be avoided. When the Supreme Court made its climactic ruling in 1954, some Americans believed the race problem would be speedily resolved. They hoped to see school barriers tumbling down and discrimination in jobs and trades, in hotels and restaurants, in theaters and public parks, dropped. In the South they have been disappointed. In the past six years, racial discrimination has indeed diminished. In a number of border States, such as Tennessee and Kentucky, school desegregation is moving ahead fast. Frequently the pattern is to start integration in the primary grades; then at the end of a dozen years no segregated classes will remain.

Meanwhile the high schools at Little Rock, Arkansas, once the scene of

open defiance of the federal courts by Governor Orval Faubus, have been reopened. A few Negroes attend. Virginia, long the intellectual leader of the South, has abandoned its own "massive resistance" campaign of legal road-blocks, and is adopting a pupil placement plan which admits qualified Negroes to its formerly all-white schools. Yet the pace is indeed snail-like. The Supreme Court has steadfastly refused to interfere with the pupil placement formula which was admittedly devised by the southern States to hold integration to a trickle. Two separate school systems continue throughout the South, and the Negro child whose parents wish to send him to an integrated classroom must apply for a transfer and then meet standards of scholastic ability not applied to white children. Three cities in North Carolina began desegregation in 1957, but they still have only thirteen Negroes enrolled in the previously white schools.

The Supreme Court has been more vigorous in other echelons. In brief order it has held segregation unconstitutional at public beaches and golf courses. It has struck down local laws requiring separate seating on inter-State busses. It has held invalid a Louisiana statute prohibiting sports contests between whites and Negroes. It has agreed to hear a case arguing that Negroes traveling on inter-State busses (and hence under the federal jurisdiction) should not be excluded from restaurants at the bus stations. Yet in many instances local custom and tradition—a determination "not to budge" on the part of some southern whites, plus a reluctance to press the issue on the part of the Negroes—has permitted the old "second class citizenship" status to persist.

The Congress, of course, has been unusually active in this civil rights arena, at least when judged by the pace of history. In 1957 it enacted the first racial rights legislation since the years immediately following the Civil War. The key provision permitted the United States Attorney General to bring suit on behalf of Negro voting rights—to move against county or State registrars who refused to allow Negroes to register for voting.

In this election year of 1960, when both Democrats and Republicans will want to appeal to the Negro vote which could be crucial in certain big cities, Congress has passed a reinforcement of the 1957 law. This additional statute empowers federal judges to appoint "referees" who shall, on application, register qualified Negro voters in areas where the federal court finds a "pattern or practice" of discrimination against Negro voting. This law is a useful step forward. It also makes fleeing across State lines to avoid prosecution for any type of bombing offense a federal crime, thus striking at the recent wave of dynamite attacks on the homes of southern Negro leaders.

Significance of the Franchise

IT is frequently argued that if the Negro is guaranteed his voting rights, all other rights will flow unto him. The vote is a tool which all politicians respect. The possession of voting power in southern cities here and there has brought Negroes fairer treatment by the police and even more lucrative government jobs. This federal legislation, however, will have little impact in the "black belts" of the deeper South—those rural counties where Negroes

nearly equal or outnumber the whites. Here local intimidation by the whites, the determination to "keep the Nigger in his place", and the readiness to use economic or even physical coercion, establish barriers to Negro voting which are nearly as effective as those in South Africa.

It is seldom necessary to resort to physical beatings, though these do happen. The mere threat of loss-of-job to a Negro laborer or even a school-teacher, or the withdrawal of credit from a mortgaged Negro farmer, is sufficient inducement to "behave". It is shrewdly observed that the new voting rights legislation will be effective in the border States of the South, where Negroes need it least, but not at all effective in the "hard core" of the Deep South where the Negro's own apathy, plus fear, has left him disfranchised for generations. There are counties in Alabama and Mississippi where Negroes are in the majority, or close to it, yet where not a single Negro vote has been cast for years.

In this atmosphere of minimum progress, undoubtedly the real meaning of the chain-store lunch-counter demonstrations is that a new spirit of militancy has been revealed among the young, better educated Negroes—a willingness to stand up for their rights rather than to leave matters solely to the courts and slow legal process. This new spirit has come as a shock to many white southerners, who have always maintained that they "understood" their black brethren and that the "Niggers" didn't really aspire to overthrow the whites' benevolent despotism.

Perhaps the Rev. F. W. Shuttlesworth of Birmingham, Alabama, one of the leaders of the lunch-counter sit-ins, best described the new mental attitude when he said: "You educated us. You taught us to look up, white man. Now we're looking up."

Certainly many Southerners have watched with concern as student demonstrations against segregated eating facilities spread into North and South Carolina, Virginia, Florida, Tennessee and even Alabama. The Negro students have stood up to cat-calls and have had food thrown at them as they appeared at the lunch-counters of the nation-wide variety stores and quietly requested service. These stores of course permit Negroes to make purchases at all other counters and departments, and even at "stand-up" lunch counters; they simply have complied with local custom against allowing colored people to sit down with whites in public restaurants.

The growing militancy has not been confined to students. They have had support from battle-experienced Negro organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. They have had financial support from local Negro business and professional leaders, who have paid the police fines imposed for lunch-counter picketing. The entire Negro community has applauded the new technique, excepting a few older leaders who fear that the demanded pace is too fast. The Southern Regional Council, composed of white and colored southerners whose objective is the amelioration of race relations, reports a significant "shift in leadership and technique to the younger, more militant Negro group, and to new and flexible uses of the non-violent protest".

The southern Negro has indeed discovered Gandhi's principles of passive

resistance and non-violent protest and he has begun to apply them in his fight for equality, even as Gandhi employed them to win independence for India. The non-violence tactics serve to discourage harsh repressive counter-measures, and though local police have frequently hauled the demonstrators off to jail or broken up quiet Negro marches on the State capitols, the technique of "no-fight-back" is baffling to counteract.

The Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., of Atlanta, renowned for his bus boycott which was the forerunner of today's technique, comments: "The demonstrations reveal that the Negro will no longer accept segregation in any form. He will not be ultimately satisfied with token integration, for he realizes that token integration is a new form of discrimination covered up with certain niceties and complexities."

Yet some observers are worried lest the spread of demonstrations into the Deep South will arouse a more violent opposition among the die-hard segregationists and produce a wider revival of the fascist-like *Ku Klux Klan*. It is argued that the new campaigns intrude into areas of "personal and private choice"—the right for instance of a restaurateur to decide whom he wishes to serve. American legal authorities hold that private proprietors may discriminate on racial grounds unless forbidden to do so by State or local laws. It so happens that only twenty-six States have such laws, and all are outside the South.

Serious race riots could indeed erupt if the Negro protest sit-ins were violently opposed. Local communities here and there have already passed ordinances reinforcing the powers of the police. Negro students have been expelled from State-run colleges for joining in the demonstrations. On the other hand, Negroes have threatened to boycott not only the chain stores but also whole shopping communities in retaliation, and their economic pressure could be severe in some southern cities.

Perhaps the sorriest aspect of the situation is the fact that the agitation of white extremists has made it more difficult for moderate-minded representatives of the two races to confer together and develop joint solutions. Moderates hesitate to speak out when extremists are shouting "no compromise". In Atlanta, Georgia, a bi-racial committee worked effectively to admit Negro doctors to practice in white hospitals (in cases where their patients were admitted) and to open up suburban areas where Negroes with means could build homes. This co-operation is difficult to sustain today. Bi-racial committees, sometimes religious in background and sometimes with business affiliations or university connexions, are, however, still functioning in some southern cities.

In this atmosphere Governor LeRoy Collins of Florida has been praised as the sole southern governor willing to speak out on the moral issue of lunch-counter demonstrations. He stepped into the leadership vacuum when sit-in moves began in several Florida cities. In a State-wide radio address he made clear that law and order would be maintained, but he also declared:

"I don't mind saying that I think that if a man has a department store and he invites the public generally . . . it is unfair and morally wrong for him to single out one department and say he does not want or will not allow Negroes

to participate in that one department." He further announced the formation of a State Bi-Racial Commission and called upon all Florida communities to set up local committees empowered to consider racial problems and seek solutions. He is the only southern governor to have established such a commission. His problem is eased somewhat by the fact that thousands of northerners have settled in Florida's coastal cities; he has fewer extremists at his door.

No Leadership from the White House

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER at a news conference recently urged that bi-racial committees be set up in every city and community of the South. But the President has really exerted little leadership in the racial issue. He has never utilized his vast popularity to endorse the Supreme Court's desegregation decision. He has felt that the race issue is largely a local matter; he has been able to bring himself to say only that racial harmony must first be accomplished in the hearts of the people. This may be true, but leadership also has its responsibilities.

The Eisenhower Administration, to be sure, has exerted strong pressure to end segregation in Washington, the nation's capital—in schools, theaters and stores. It has also tidied up the task, begun by the Truman Administration, of ending segregation in the armed forces. It has brought pressures to bear to eliminate job discrimination where federal funds and contracts are involved.

These are important forward steps. That they have dislodged the Negro's loyalty to the Democratic Party is doubtful. As for the voting rights laws passed by Congress, both parties emerge with approximately equal credit for this legislation.

The problem of equal rights for Negroes—the ending of the "Jim Crow" status—is not confined to the South of course. It erupts in northern factories when Negroes move up from the South and demand jobs. It explodes in northern communities when Negroes seek to buy homes in white sections of town. Immediately there is fear of depressed real estate values. Mass meetings are held and occasionally the Negro who has purchased a home in a white community is forced to leave. In other instances, careful exploratory meetings by all concerned, and wise community leadership can forestall tensions and ease the way to bi-racial community development.

American trade unions still practice racial discrimination here and there, and they are able to exert little leadership in the South owing to segregationist sentiment among local workers. A report recently delivered to Vice President Richard Nixon showed that Negroes are sometimes being frozen out of apprenticeship training programs, particularly in the construction industry, and thus blocked from obtaining skilled jobs. The N.A.A.C.P. contends that Negroes are limited to 3.62 per cent of the skilled jobs available to the nation's labor force.

The churches of the United States might be expected to mobilize moral sentiment against inequality, and so they do in many instances. Yet in the southern States they face a steep problem. A hundred years ago white southern

churchmen were arguing that slavery was compatible with Christianity. Today few would so argue, but when they attempt to follow their consciences and work for desegregation, their congregations and their local communities disagree, sometimes vehemently. Few southern white churches admit Negro members. The larger national church denominations support a number of agencies working directly in the South for the cause of racial equality. The largest Protestant denomination in the South, the Southern Baptist Conference, has voted to abide with the Supreme Court's desegregation decision. But at the local level its churches have done almost nothing to promote integration. The Roman Catholic Church, not strong in the South, has condemned segregation as morally wrong and sinful. In theory all Catholic churches are integrated but Negroes do not always participate in southern Catholic church activities.

It is obvious that the United States is traveling down a long and complex avenue in its search for racial equality. The national conscience has been aroused, and more progress is being made than in some of the Asian countries where racial and religious discriminations exist. Through new laws, through court action, through the churches and occasionally the trade unions, and through a gradual growth in public enlightenment, the Negro is emerging from his "second-class citizenship".

But the leaven which is producing the greatest change today is undoubtedly the newly awakened consciousness of the Negro himself, the realization that he is a free agent and that in his own right he can, by various effective techniques, raise his status in the community.

United States of America,

May 1960.

THE LAW OF THE SEA

AGREEMENT AND DISAGREEMENT AT GENEVA

TWO United Nations conferences at Geneva in 1958 and 1960 on the law of the sea will be remembered by the public as having failed to reach agreement on the vexed problem of the breadth of a State's territorial waters and exclusive fishing rights. Geneva has added to its reputation as the home of lost international causes. But, while it is fair to label the second conference as a failure, the first conference was a remarkable success in the field of international co-operation.

The first Geneva conference of eighty-five nations admittedly foundered on the two issues which it referred to its successor two years later, but it brought into existence a comprehensive code on the law of the sea. Unlike its predecessor, the conference at The Hague in 1930, it did not allow the territorial waters issue to obfuscate the other lively issues of sea law. Four conventions were signed on April 29, 1958, on the general régime of the High Seas, the Territorial Seas and the Contiguous Zone, the High Seas Fishing and Fishery Conservation and the Continental Shelf. These conventions, in addition to formal articles, comprise between them some seventy-eight substantive articles covering the whole field of the existing public international law of the sea as well as some new material, such as the Convention on High Seas Fishing and Fishery Conservation.

The Code of Sea Law, represented by the four conventions, marks the embodiment of the principle of freedom of the seas. The struggle over the breadth of territorial seas, on the other hand, was the apotheosis of sovereignty among the smaller and newer nations of the world. Since the issue of territorial waters was bound up with the economic factors of the various fishing industries, it was hardly surprising that unlike the issues in the four conventions it was not capable of easy settlement. If only States could have taken as their yardstick the need for maintaining as much as possible of the seas as the high seas, and as such open to all nations, the territorial waters dispute might have been capable of solution. It was unfortunate that fishing rights should have been linked with the rule relating to territorial waters. They are in fact different issues. Sovereignty in the territorial waters, however convenient a label to employ, meant exclusive rights of fishing. An extension of the territorial waters automatically would give additional rights to exclude foreign fishermen, who hitherto regarded the seas as open highways. It would be more convenient if those States which have particular problems of economic life for their peoples could enter into agreements with the States fishing in certain waters whereby a fair share is apportioned and greater energy devoted to conserving the fish and, more particularly, to developing new ideas of fish farming.

It is to be remembered that the Geneva Convention on the High Seas itself in Article 2 recognizes this fact in defining the high seas. The article states:

"The high seas being open to all nations, no State may validly purport to subject any part of them to its sovereignty." Freedom of the high seas is exercised under the conditions laid down by these articles and by other rules of international law. It comprises, *inter alia*, both for coastal and non-coastal states: "(1) Freedom of navigation: (2) Freedom of fishing: (3) Freedom to lay submarine cables and pipelines: (4) Freedom to fly over the high seas." These freedoms, and others which are recognized by the general principles of international law, "shall be exercised by all States with reasonable regard to the interests of other States in their exercise of the freedom of the high seas."

Territorial Waters

THE issue over territorial waters has always been bound up with the struggle of the maritime nations to achieve their political aims. Until the sixteenth century claims to the seas were, even by modern standards, rapacious. Venice and Genoa respectively claimed the Adriatic and the Ligurian Seas; Spain and Portugal divided between them the Atlantic, Indian and Pacific Oceans; Britain claimed the British Seas, Sweden the Baltic and the Kingdom of Denmark-Norway the Northern Seas. The growth of trade rivalry led to attempts to gain hegemony over the high seas and to countervailing moves towards establishing the freedom of the seas. By 1700 the principle *mare liberum* had prevailed; it only remained to determine the extent of the marginal belt of the territorial sea adjacent to the coast.

The three-mile limit as the breadth of a State's territorial waters is generally attributed to a Dutchman, Brintershoek, who in 1703 based the extent of the three-mile territorial waters on the range of gun shot. But in fact the three-mile rule pre-dated this event and was based on a neutrality rule developed by the Scandinavians. This stated that merchant ships in time of war were exempt from capture while within cannon range of fortified neutral ports. The rule, therefore, had nothing to do with sovereign rights or fisheries.

The nineteenth century witnessed the general adoption of the three-mile rule, particularly in relation to fisheries. It first appeared in a treaty of 1818 between Great Britain and the United States for defining limits of Canadian waters from which U.S. fishermen were excluded. And it appeared in subsequent treaties and conventions. But there had already begun the urge by some States to push their claims further to extended territorial waters.

In 1896 the Dutch proposed a conference in order to endorse a six-mile limit; it was stoutly resisted by Great Britain. In 1930 forty-two nations gathered at The Hague and again Britain resisted an international convention which would have established for many years to come a rule of six miles for territorial waters. At that time, Britain, a leading maritime nation, could have carried with her a sufficient number of States. As it was, no convention was signed on that or any other topic relating to the law of the sea.

When eighty-six nations met in April 1958 Britain along with the United States was prepared at last to compromise on her hitherto persistent

contention that the rule of international law allowed only a three-mile limit. A proposal for a qualified six-mile limit was put forward, but failed to gain sufficient support. The proposal was that there should be another six miles of an exclusive fishing zone but that any State which had historically fished in the waters comprising the fishing zone would retain the right to fish there.

The main rival proposal came from the Canadian delegation. This proposal was the same six-and-six but without any "historical rights". This proposal suited the book of the Icelanders, with whom Britain had had an outstanding dispute since 1951, shortly after Iceland had gained her independence from Denmark. Canada persisted in her rival plan because of her wish to protect her own salmon fishing industry off her west coast against the U.S.S.R. and American trawlermen. But unlike Britain with Iceland, Canada was well aware that a separate bilateral agreement with the United States was always an easy task for her. Personal relations between the head of the British delegation and the head of the Canadian delegation moreover were not good enough to overcome the differences about fishing rights.

That conference broke up in disarray and bitter exchanges among the delegates, but managed to agree upon convening another conference within two years, in which time it was hoped that fishing disputes could be resolved and agreement reached on the breadth of territorial waters; this would leave the way open to the ratification of the four conventions, which until today only Afghanistan, a land-locked State, had ratified. The hope lay in an entente between the United States and Britain on the one hand and Canada on the other and a few defections by States belonging to the Afro-Asian block, which had lined up with the few States, like Peru and Ecuador, extravagantly and cynically claiming territorial waters up to 200 miles.

In the interim period between the two conferences the only major controversy lay between Britain and Iceland. In the September following the conference Iceland unilaterally declared that she would enforce a twelve-mile limit. In the following spring British trawlermen came to their traditional fishing grounds off the Icelandic coasts with a British naval escort to protect them. Ugly incidents, interlaced with some scenes of amusement between Icelandic naval police and British frigates, permeated the season's fishing. Happily there were no casualties, although on occasions the warring factions nearly came to blows. Attempts to take the issue before the International Court of Justice or an independent international commission all failed. Intransigence from the Icelandic Government helped not a little towards establishing an unhappy augury for the next conference.

Meanwhile negotiations were taking place behind the scenes between Britain and Canada on the possibilities of a compromise. When the nations came to Geneva in March 1960 they took up their positions where the last conference had broken off. But ultimately the proposal which stood the best chance of gaining the acceptance of two-thirds of the nations voting was a compromise Canadian-American-British proposal. This was a six-and-six limit, with fishing rights to nations which had fished in the waters concerned for five years before January 1, 1958, to continue for another ten years.

When the final vote was taken in plenary session on April 26, 1960

the proposal, confidently expected to get the necessary majority, failed by the single vote. Fifty-four nations voted in favour against twenty-eight, the abstentions not counting in calculating whether the two-thirds majority had been reached. It is an irony of the situation that Commonwealth solidarity had been achieved, only to be found lacking in a vital respect at the moment of voting. India, which had long been known to favour the twelve-mile proposal, was expected to abstain from voting; that would have been enough in the circumstances. At the last moment the Indian delegate received a communication from the Defence Minister, Mr. Krishna Menon, to say that India would vote against the U.S.-Canadian proposal. The ostensible ground for the Indian stand was not any need to protect her fishing industry but a desire for security reasons to have a twelve-mile belt around her shores in which she would be sovereign. The blame, if any, for this state of affairs can be laid at the door of the International Law Commission upon whose work the conventions are based. Article 3 stated that "The Commission does not permit an extension of the territorial sea beyond twelve miles". It was tantamount to saying that twelve miles was justifiable.

Contiguous Zone

SECURITY had in fact haunted the deliberations of the second conference in as much as some of the Afro-Asian countries expressed their desire to have a twelve-mile limit for defence reasons. The exclusion of "security" from the rights exercisable in the contiguous zone may have proved fatal to the issue on the territorial waters. It had been inserted in committee but deleted from the convention when it came to the plenary stage because of the extreme vagueness of the term, which "would open the way for abuses", and because the granting of rights was not necessary since "the enforcement of customs and sanitary regulations will be sufficient in most cases to safeguard the security of the State".

Article 24 of the Convention on the Territorial Seas and the Contiguous Zone in paragraph 2 states: "The contiguous zone may not extend beyond twelve miles measured from the baseline from which the breadth of the territorial sea is measured." The contiguous zone is, and remains, part of the high seas. It is not (like the territorial sea) under the general jurisdiction, sovereignty and dominion of the coastal State. The laws and regulations of the coastal States do not run there as they do in the territorial sea.

It follows that foreign vessels in the contiguous zone are not basically subject to the laws of the coastal State or bound to conform to them as they would undoubtedly be if they were in the territorial waters. International practice—and since the convention international law—decrees that the coastal State should exercise certain limited powers of control in the contiguous zone in order to prevent eventual infringement within its territorial waters of certain of its laws.

No country is obliged to claim any contiguous zone and there are some, like the United Kingdom, which still do not. Nor does a State have to claim the maximum distance permissible. The particular purposes for which the contiguous zone rights may be exercised are laid down as the enforcement

of "customs, fiscal immigration [and] sanitary regulations". The protection of the coastal State's revenue laws, and health and quarantine regulations, have always been regarded as reasonable and proper objects of contiguous zone rights. Since the contiguous zone is part of the high seas the question of fishery limits has always been wholly separate from it and linked rather with the territorial sea. Since the concept of the territorial sea is a part of the notion of sovereignty carrying with it a limitation upon the four freedoms of the high seas it would now be appropriate to abandon the old notions and link fishing rights with the contiguous zone.

Innocent Passage

TO the extent of territorial waters, the right of free passage for merchant vessels and warships is limited. There is of course the right of innocent passage to all such vessels even in territorial waters (recognized in Articles 14-17 in the Convention of Territorial Seas and the Contiguous Zone). But the interpretation to be put upon what is or is not an "innocent passage" admits of doubts and possible disputes. Passage of vessels in the high seas admits of no qualification.

If the territorial waters were extended to six and, more critically, to twelve miles several important waterways might be closed to the world's shipping. If it were to turn out that Spain had the right ultimately to exclude British shipping from the Straits of Gibraltar British and French could equally bar the way through the Straits of Dover. Even if there were no grounds for denying the right of innocent passage the possibility of exclusion on the ground that the passage was not innocent might create delicate international situations. The closing of Bab el-Mandeb at the southern end of the Red Sea could prove extremely awkward to those who use it. More serious would be the position of the Gulf of Aqaba which already causes enough controversy without being bedevilled with further complications of restrictive shipping. At least depriving such waterways of their character as high seas would not conduce towards harmony in international relations on the world's seaways.

The origins of the principle of innocent passage are found in the practical considerations of maritime, and even landlocked, States possessing communications with the sea. It avails little to be free to sail the seas unless there is also a right of arrival at a destination and a right to pass through such waters as are necessarily incidental to that purpose. The right of innocent passage is a universal servitude upon all States in the interests of themselves and others as an acknowledged limitation upon their sovereignty. There is an analogy with the rights of riparian States on the banks of the same international river. Unfortunately the right of innocent passage is not accepted with regard to air passage. When the Paris Convention of 1919 and the Chicago Convention of 1944 were passed no right of innocent passage for aircraft was granted and indeed the instruments are so worded as probably to exclude a right on the basis of a general need for such passage.

Passage means navigation through the territorial sea for the purpose either of traversing that sea without entering internal waters, or of making

for the high seas from internal waters. Passage includes stopping and anchoring but only in so far as the same are incidental to ordinary navigation or are rendered necessary by *force majeure* or by distress.

The definition of passage in the convention almost makes the epithet "innocent" otiose. Any act which is contrary to peace, good order or security of the coastal State almost necessarily involves a use of the territorial sea other than for "passage". Article 14 (4) of the convention states that "Passage is innocent as long as it is not prejudicial to the peace, good order or security of the coastal State."

It is not always realized that fishing vessels enjoy the right of innocent passage just as much as other types of shipping and that this right may be of importance. Deep-sea fishing vessels, though capable of distant operations, are normally vessels of quite a small tonnage and are subjected to hazardous conditions at sea. They may need the shelter of the lee coast, and when returning home heavily laden may need to take short cuts. But foreign ships are bound to comply with the laws and regulations of the coastal State which will probably prohibit fishing. Non-compliance with the local laws renders the passage "non-innocent". The irony of the situation is that actual fishing in the territorial sea while in passage would not in itself affect innocence. The non-innocence of the passage would result from failure to comply with regulations designed to prevent fishing, either specifically or impliedly by disallowing, for example, the stowage of fishing gear.

Another important aspect of the right of innocent passage is that relating to international straits. The pressure for extending the territorial waters to six and even twelve miles, thereby depriving certain waterways of their character as high seas, has made the right to free passage in waters linking the oceans a vital issue. The convention provides that there shall be no suspension of the right of innocent passage of foreign ships through straits which are used for international navigation between one part of the high seas and another or the territorial sea of a foreign State. This provision embodies the decision of the International Court of Justice in the case between Britain and Albania in the Corfu Channel case.

High Seas

EVERY part of the seas which is not territorial is the high seas and open to all nations, coastal and land-locked alike. This convention is almost entirely the embodiment of the existing law on the subject. But two important topics were dealt with by the conference.

1. *Flags of convenience*

Article 5 states that there must be a genuine link between the State and the ship. To this end a State whose flag the ship is flying must effectively exercise its jurisdiction and control in administrative, technical and social matters over the ship. This strikes at the root of the present squabble about the lack of connexion between the State and a large proportion of the world's shipping.

2. *Sea Pollution*

Article 25 states that every State shall take measures to prevent pollution of the seas from the dumping of radioactive waste and shall co-operate with the competent international organization in taking measures for preventing sea pollution (or from the air) resulting from any activities with radioactive materials or other harmful agents.

The conference also passed a resolution recommending that the International Atomic Energy Agency should pursue studies to assist States in controlling the discharge or release of radioactive material to the sea and in drafting regulations to prevent pollution of the sea which would adversely affect man and his marine resources.

Continental Shelf

THE sea-bed and the subsoil of submarine areas adjacent to the coast outside territorial waters are subject to the sovereign rights of the coastal State. These sovereign rights over the continental shelf extend to a depth of 200 metres over all natural resources. And the rights are exclusive, in the sense that failure by the coastal State to exercise these rights confers no right on any foreign State to exploit the resources.

Natural resources include mineral deposits (such as oil) and other non-living resources together with living organisms which are immobile at harvestable stage or unable to move except in constant physical contact with the sea-bed. The King Crab, found in the Pacific, would fall into this category.

When the same continental shelf is adjacent to territories of two or more States whose coasts are opposite to each other the boundary of the continental shelf has to be determined by agreement. This is especially necessary in such places as the Persian Gulf which is practically all continental shelf. In view of the projected Channel tunnel* it is worth recalling the convention's rules about tunnelling. Article 7 provides that the rules relating to the continental shelf shall not prejudice the right of the coastal State to exploit the subsoil by means of tunnelling irrespective of the depth of water above the subsoil.

Fishing Conservation

THE Convention on Fishing and Conservation of the Living Resources of the High Seas represents one of the most significant aspects of the work of the conference. Greater powers are given to the coastal State which are designed to dissuade these States from extending their fishing rights. The coastal State may even take unilateral action to maintain the productivity of the sea's living resources outside the State's territorial waters. Conservation which it is sought to undertake in areas adjacent to these territorial waters must be then agreed upon with those States fishing in the area scheduled for conservatory activities. Failure to reach agreement demands arbitral procedure within twelve months. Settlement of any disputes will be heard by a special commission of five members, who will investigate the

* See p. 286.

need for the conservation of the fishing grounds in which the coastal State seeks to prevent further fishing.

The coastal State may take steps, pending the settlement of a dispute, on the following conditions. It must be shown that there is a need for urgent application of conservation measures in the light of existing knowledge of the fishery; that the measures adopted are based on appropriate scientific findings; and that such measures do not discriminate against foreign fishermen. It was a considerable achievement to have been able to write such provision into a convention. More significant was the inclusion of a system of arbitration which was initially opposed by the Soviet block.

But this is the only instance in the four conventions of agreement to take disputes on the law of the sea to an international tribunal. A separate protocol covering the compulsory settlement of disputes was drawn up, to which those States favouring the judicial settlement can adhere. But the protocol does not form part of the four conventions and is likely to attract far fewer ratifications than the Code of Sea Law itself.

THE IMPACT OF BROADCASTING: II

THE EXPANDING AUDIENCE

IN the first part of this essay some account was given of the development of broadcasting and television under British leadership in response to the penetration of the Commonwealth from outside. Before looking round the Commonwealth, in this second part, at the structure and tendencies of the services within the member states themselves, it is necessary to bring up to date the account of the major outside influences.

It seems clear in the first place that television in the Commonwealth will rely to a greater extent on the United States than sound radio ever did or is ever likely to do. Fundamentally this is because of the much higher costs of production. Dependent in varying degrees on cheap outside sources of supply, the stations of the Commonwealth are likely to use more American programmes, both relatively and absolutely, as they expand. With a home audience of fifty million sets at the beginning of 1960, the American producers have made their profits before exporting, so that they compete on favourable terms with all comers. The rather confused British effort is dwarfed by them. The trend in their favour may be modified by some degree of political restraint imposed by governments; it is unlikely to decline to the British level.

The impact of sound broadcasting in the second half of the century could almost have been predicted from its origins in the twenties. Except for the success of public service organizations which will be found affecting the development of local broadcasting, and except for the determination shown by the West to use broadcasting as a weapon in time of war, the tendencies have remained true to form: the East has developed its superiority with more and more determination, while the West, which accepted the need for a maximum effort for a moment in the war years, has tended to revert to its relatively cautious and economical approach. The main difference between the two periods has been the increase in the number of sets.

There are now over 35 million sets in the Commonwealth, including Britain, and the rate of growth is increasing rapidly. The experience of America and Europe suggests that the arrival of television does not stop the increase though it reduces its pace. In the colonies and new Commonwealth countries the present figure of 3,850,000 sets compares with about 1,500,000 in 1953. Such an increase of 150 per cent in six years is typical of those parts of the world as yet uncommitted in the struggle between East and West.

The conception of the possibilities of radio held by Lenin and the Soviets at the end of the First World War may or may not have been influential in the conversion of China to Communism. The establishment of the Soviet Far East language services in 1929 has in any event been followed by the establishment of the Communist services of Peking Radio. Thirty years after the first broadcasts of the Russian station the Chinese successor services were

still in the full flood of expansion. They instituted for instance their first daily service to Africa in 1959.

In 1960 Moscow and Peking not only maintain the lead as State broadcasters over Britain and America which Moscow established in the twenties, but they are pulling farther away, as if they had succeeded in instilling into the West a sense of defeat in the short wave field. Among the other important external broadcasters we should notice that the Egyptian Radio now comes next in order of importance after Moscow, Peking, Britain and America. Nor can we reassure ourselves that the nationalist propaganda of European nations can be counted in the balance on the side of the West. How powerfully it may act in the opposite direction has been described by Nkrumah in his *Autobiography*. Wandering aimlessly through London in 1935 he tells how he heard a newspaper boy shouting something he could not understand and then saw a placard: MUSSOLINI INVADES ETHIOPIA. "That was all I needed", he says.

At that moment it was almost as if the whole of London had suddenly declared war on me personally. For the next few minutes I could do nothing but glare at each impassive face wondering if those people could possibly realize the wickedness of colonialism, and praying that the day might come when I could play my part in bringing about the downfall of such a system. . . . I was ready and willing to go through hell itself, if need be, in order to achieve my object.

The effect of propaganda has always been impossible to isolate with certainty, especially in relation to the backwash of events themselves. It may be that there is comparatively little listening to the vast output of anti-colonial propaganda, but that it has succeeded in creating a climate of opinion, an unspoken challenge to ideas of dominance which before it existed could be accepted without question. If that is so the deep shift of emphasis within the Commonwealth from a static sense of domination to the dynamic atmosphere of liberation and enrichment may renew its spirit as it is already reorganizing its structure.

The methods of investigation which make possible a fairly accurate assessment of audience attitudes in the West are less trustworthy guides in attempting to assess the impact of Moscow or Peking. They give (as do other sources) a picture which we may suspect of being less than the truth.*

As Russia, China and Egypt now expand their output to Africa it may seem unlikely that they will secure great audiences. There is something unlikely (though perhaps only because of some Victorian failure in the Englishman's imagination) about the postbag programme which Peking already succeeds in broadcasting regularly with letters from named corre-

* In Delhi, for instance, a full-scale sample of interviews in 1957 gave Moscow Radio an audience of 3 per cent of Indian listeners in a week, compared with the B.B.C.'s 12 per cent, although the Russian output in Indian vernacular languages was substantially greater. In Singapore in 1959 only 17 per cent of the audience admitted to listening to Peking in a week by comparison with 26 per cent who said they listened to the B.B.C. In Malaya less than 1 per cent of the audience would admit to listening to Peking, and whatever degrees of caution may have been operating in Delhi and Singapore, it was here quite certain that the fears roused by the immediate presence of the conflict in the Emergency were making those who listened suppress the facts.

spondents in Johannesburg and Salisbury. But it would be dangerous to assume that their effect will be small because their audiences are. It was the potency of his message that made Lenin's imagination light up at the prospect of a universal means of contact with the world. The Commonwealth will be in peril unless the short wave bands continue to carry a message with equal powers of conviction as well as on a scale comparable with that of the outside influence.

Component Stations within the Commonwealth

JUST as the Soviet pattern of broadcasting bred repetitions of itself in every territory that became Communist, so the success of the B.B.C. established likenesses of itself throughout the Commonwealth. It was these that were responsible for the sense of membership of a major political community and worked for the cohesion of the Commonwealth. The most recent session of the Commonwealth Broadcasting Conference, at which the representatives meet at intervals, assembled in Delhi at the end of January 1960.

Whatever vices have been attributed to Broadcasting House as it rides apparently at anchor in Portland Place, it is not usually charged with the ruthless projection of itself into oversea territories. And in fact it did not reproduce itself with accuracy, or by its own volition, but because something had to be done in the interests of the bigger sense of community.

Throughout the twenties broadcasting was developing in the more highly industrialized parts of the Commonwealth on American lines. Private enterprise relying on the rewards it could earn from industry fought for audiences by providing the broadcasts most likely to collect them. In Canada the situation was made more dramatic by the competition of U.S. stations from below the border which sometimes clashed on the wavelengths used by Canadians.

The practicability of a system run in the interests of the state had not been demonstrated until the establishment of the B.B.C. in 1927. In 1932 the Canadian Parliament set up a Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, though not at first under that title. It was allowed to accept advertising on certain specified outlines, but its function was to protect the national identity from being swamped by the economic forces from the United States. It has worked throughout for the Commonwealth connexion, that is to say as much by an effort to limit certain aspects of the American way of life as by any desire to pursue the British way of life for its own sake. The fostering of Canadian programme talent was a major objective and of course particularly important in the French language. By a process that derived its impetus from practical needs as much as from the common ideals of the men in charge or the developing philosophy of a commonwealth of free nations, B.B.C. thinking was in constant touch with the C.B.C.'s and B.B.C. programmes became an integral part of C.B.C. schedules. Some were taken as the continuing daily relays from the B.B.C.'s live short-wave services, and others in increasing numbers from the B.B.C.'s Transcription Service of recordings. They were important if for no other reason because of the indifferent quality of direct short-wave reception in North America.

By prodigies of engineering enterprise in the fifties Canada is now served

as to over 80 per cent of its population by the C.B.C.'s television network. Examples of C.B.C. television are to be seen at intervals on the B.B.C. and vice versa, though limits are set to the British showing in Canada by the low rates at which American mass-audience shows are available.

The Australian Broadcasting Commission was founded in 1932; in South Africa the Broadcasting Corporation was established by the Broadcasting Act of 1936 and in New Zealand the Broadcasting Board was taken over by the Crown in the same year. There is no space here for a detailed account of the points at which these organizations differ from the B.B.C. and the extent to which they allow advertising. All have some form of commercial competition, either within themselves or from powerful independent companies outside. All have relayed news from the B.B.C. on a daily basis for a quarter of a century and only the South African Broadcasting Corporation has cut off the arrangement, perhaps because of B.B.C. news policy. They have worked out together a great number of co-operative projects, and almost always when voices from the Commonwealth have been fed into the home broadcasting system in the United Kingdom it has been with their help.

As this process went ahead in the Dominions the Colonial Secretary in 1936 appointed a committee under the chairmanship of the Earl of Plymouth "to consider and recommend what steps could usefully be taken to accelerate the provision of broadcasting services in the Colonial Empire, to co-ordinate such services with the work of the British Broadcasting Corporation, and to make them a more effective instrument for promoting both local and Imperial interests".*

The committee declared in favour of Commonwealth ideals and against private commercial broadcasting in terms which now seem to come from another era.

We envisage the development of Colonial broadcasting . . . as an instrument of advanced administration, an instrument not only and perhaps not even primarily for the entertainment but rather for the enlightenment and education of the population and for their instruction in public health, agriculture, &c.

It was even suggested that the pursuit of private profit by a station presented obvious "though not insuperable" obstacles to the public service. Partly as a result of the recommendations the services in as many as thirty-two of the Commonwealth countries are now publicly owned. It is this, as much as any inherent qualities in B.B.C. output, that accounts for the relays in thirty territories achieved by the General Overseas Service in 1960. In only five territories is broadcasting in wholly private hands, though there has been a tendency in the second half of the century for commercial radio to recover ground because of the budgetary savings involved.

Technical Training and Education

TO help in the building of local and national broadcasting the B.B.C. has given training since the Second World War to about a thousand staff from the Commonwealth. They have come to London for general and tech-

* Colonial No. 139.

nical courses, for attachments and to serve as short-term staff. Equally the B.B.C. has sent out many of its own most experienced staff and instructors to the national organizations. In 1960 the Director of the Ghana Broadcasting System is a seconded member of the B.B.C. staff and so is the Director of the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation.

The drive to improve general educational standards has been equally in evidence in the individual broadcasting systems of the Commonwealth. The Australian Broadcasting Commission, for instance, made a start on organized broadcasting to schools immediately upon its formation in 1932, and by 1936 a regular service was operating in all six states. Its work for good music, by bringing great artists to the country and providing concerts for youth, has been remarkable. Similar enterprise has been shown elsewhere. In Ghana there is a regular service to Secondary Schools and Teacher Training Colleges which is picked up by the majority of them. The daily English broadcasts to schools by the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation will shortly give way to a bolder scheme for lessons in the main languages.

The direct rôle of the B.B.C. has again been important. Education in the broad sense has always figured prominently in the programmes of the Transcription Service and the old Colonial Service which started in 1941, but a more closely focused contribution has been made through the Colonial Schools Transcription Service, financed by Colonial Development and Welfare and prepared by a special unit in the B.B.C. Since 1953 more than 500 recorded programmes have been made specifically for secondary school pupils and primary school teachers. Nearly every colonial territory, and Ghana and Malaya as well, receive and use the output of this unit.

The rôle of *English by Radio* has been even greater. This technique of teaching by direct broadcast from London is supplemented by recorded programmes for use by any local station on demand, and more than a hundred stations are now broadcasting them on their medium-wave services. The recordings are available in nineteen languages, apart from those already going out in the language services from London, and these additional languages tend to be more remote; they include Hausa, Kuoyu, Luganda, Lwo, Nyanja and Teochew.

Perhaps the most ambitious of the B.B.C. projects is a series described by its title: *Listen and Teach*. To train and create teachers themselves by radio has not been attempted before the second half of the century, but this training college of the air is now in operation at the great B.B.C. Far Eastern Relay Station in Malaya and at a number of national stations in South East Asia and Africa.

The Local Organization of Television

IT has been noticed that the influence of television coming into the Commonwealth from outside has been at the beginning predominantly American.

The amount of television viewing at the beginning of 1960 was, however, not very great. There were more than two and a half million sets in Canada, rather less than a million in Australia and no other country in the Common-

wealth had many more than a thousand. A possible exception may be Malta, where although there is no service some thousands of set owners are able to watch television across the narrow sea-path which separates them from Italy. Television exists in Bermuda and Cyprus, in the Western Region of Nigeria since October 1959 and on a very limited scale in Delhi. Hong Kong has a wired television service.

The availability of indefinite quantities of almost free American material for these and further stations as they grow up is of less significance than the lines on which they are likely to be organized. The geographical spread of the Commonwealth and the dispersal of its inhabitants is as forbidding to the growth of television as it was inviting to sound radio. Its transmission is at present (and for the foreseeable future) limited to a radius of some fifty miles, unless relay stations are erected at a proportionately higher cost. But even the initial area of coverage would have to be populated by an advanced industrial society as in Europe if a public service system of television were to be financed from licence fees paid by the audience. Although compromise gestures have been made by Canada and Australia it is unlikely that the cost of stations elsewhere can be met in practice without the help of advertising revenue.

The situation which arose in the early days of sound broadcasting is therefore recurring more intractably in television because the economic motives are more deeply rooted. Except in so far as governments insert statutory safeguards, television is likely to spread in the Commonwealth under the influence of consumer advertising, with corresponding effects on the interests of the people who watch and on the priorities of industry. Moreover safeguards tend to be negative things which prevent the worst from happening without securing the best.

The reservations in favour of educational television in the West Region of Nigeria are not the most impressive thing about the new service as a whole, according to visitors to Ibadan. "It is an impressive effort from the technical point of view, but the output consists to an extent of very old American films." It may be that services of this kind will one day be inspired with the cultural standards acceptable to the I.T.A. and acquire a vision of Commonwealth ideals from the B.B.C. But it is certain only that they will create a strong incentive to possession and an impatience for the sophistication of big cities. It is always possible that a short cut will rule out the slow processes of education we have inherited in the West and will substitute as a basis for society a hierarchy of material standards without much background of loyalties or political aspirations. There have been worse developments.

What is in doubt is the extent in sheer area of the Commonwealth which television will be able to influence in the remainder of the century. Much depends on the determination of the promoters and the hunger which lies in wait behind the eyes of frustrated people.

Conclusions

THE period of influence which the mass media have had is now long enough for the main tendencies to have declared themselves.

The vulnerability of the Commonwealth, noticed in the first part of this essay, has increased with the increase in the number of wireless sets, and especially in South East Asia, Africa and the Middle East, where the growth became most marked in the second half of the century.* Television had entered ten million homes in Britain, and another four million in Canada and Australia, but local successes in Africa and the Middle East seemed unlikely to extend to the Commonwealth as a whole with the speed or deep penetration of radio.

The influences came in from outside in characteristic shapes. The Americans entered in depth with easy forms of organization for radio and television, which promoted their own patterns of appreciation and prosperity without avowing political interests of any kind. As sharp in their approach as the Americans were glamorous, the Russians sent a doctrinal statement through the barriers of race, religion and colour and were partly understood by students, by oversea Chinese and by nationalists of all kinds.

The Americans were checked by the positive traditions of the old Commonwealth where they still flourished and by the realities of independence where they did not. In television their great advantages were for a time frustrated by geography and in radio by the success of public service systems. In a sense and for a time the Russians, who were first in the field, seemed to have no major success except in the conversion of China, which in turn influenced Malaya, India and the whole of South East Asia. But although they failed to force a direct entry, they succeeded in injecting an almost universal sense of resistance to "foreign exploitation", and this isolated negative aspect of Communism was taken up as a self-sufficient message by others, most notably by Cairo Radio which worked with virulent effect in the Middle East and Africa. The strength of the nationalist case became so well established that for a time the vocabulary of the Commonwealth had to be adjusted at regular intervals to take account of it. "Colony" and "colonial", "empire", "imperial", even "Dominion", became invidious words. Effects of this kind, although they seemed appropriate enough to the Americans, had not been achieved by their own revolutionary propaganda of the eighteenth century.

Britain's response to the perils to which she was exposed by the new inventions was equally characteristic. She began by doing nothing for an unreasonably long time. Even when the great spasms of twentieth century nationalism broke on her continents, she resorted very little to devices like jamming and confiscation of sets which aimed at sealing them off. But her inaction was less the result of indifference than of a basic liberalism which distrusted propaganda, even when it began at home, and had a deep belief in the survival of truth. Although there was never enough money for the B.B.C.—which was still in 1960 held down in its programmes to the Commonwealth to a tiny fraction of the expenditure on the home public—it was allowed to tell the truth, to educate and to entertain, and these things in the long run were worth more than the money spent on propaganda by Hitler.

* The Plymouth Committee of 1937 hoped for areas of "wired wireless" because "the limitation of the listener to the programme with which he is supplied can thereby be controlled and objectionable wireless propaganda be excluded".

The achievements in Commonwealth broadcasting in this first period were due to the devotion of and to the Royal Family, the national love of facts and some distinguished broadcasters who spoke from a long period of civilization. It was the satisfaction given by this version of life that kept many sets tuned to London and helped to bring the Commonwealth together into the war after years of unheeded advice from Germany, Italy and Moscow.

In the period after the war television carried the Coronation oversea and more local transmitters every year took the Queen's Christmas Day broadcasts. But the nature of the output was changing. The problem was no longer so much to strengthen the bonds—themselves joining the vocabulary of invidious words—as to extend the effective reach of the Commonwealth. By the education of the dependent peoples within it there was a prospect of winning them in their independence. By sharing standards, methods of organization and technical skills to adjust to their own needs, a permanent influence was being left which transmitted onwards something of the original conception. Above all, perhaps, it was a question of introducing the Commonwealth to itself in a new co-operative rôle.

The failures were again characteristic. Britain founded the first and biggest television service in the world only to withhold its programmes from the Commonwealth for a quarter of a century. Sound broadcasting again became the happy hunting ground of committees in pursuit of economies. As the new languages reached out into the jungle in pursuit of new audiences, old ones were silenced to offset their cost. The Cypriot Service from London went silent as the struggle in Cyprus began to develop. Afrikaans from London was stopped as *apartheid* hardened into a conflict. The Portuguese, Dutch and Belgian Services were silenced; French was halved. All had interlocking colonial connexions. The stability lasting for generations, which made up the strength of Soviet output, was achieved by the B.B.C. only in English.

Great population changes were in progress which by A.D. 2000 might well bring the languages of India and Latin America to join Chinese in the lead, numerically ahead of English. But English itself, in spite of a relatively declining population in Britain and America, was going out in wider and wider circles among foreign peoples, making its way in the key places of industry, science and politics and taking with it traces of the values and institutions of the community from which it came.

It was a tendency of the old insular Britain to end by winning the wars which it began by losing. This might yet prove true of the influence of broadcasting and television in the life of the Commonwealth, because it has already proved more responsive to the influences within itself than vulnerable to those from outside.

(Concluded)

UNITED KINGDOM

THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY

ANY Chancellor of the Exchequer who these days spends a year or two in the office is certain to be bedevilled by the paradox of our relatively affluent economy. One year he will be busy lifting all restraints on spending, with the Government setting the pace, to fend off the threat of a recession and a politically unbearable increase in unemployment; the next year he will be clamping down on expenditure and creaming off the dangerous spending power by higher taxation and credit restrictions because the economy is so lively that there is the risk of balance-of-payments trouble and inflation.

Mr. Heathcoat Amory has been three years at the Treasury and has therefore now seen the economic cycle through from beginning to end. In his early days, during 1958, it was his task to take many steps to stimulate activity throughout the economy. He reduced bank rate; brought the credit squeeze to an end by abandoning control by request over bank advances; raised initial allowances for capital expenditure in his Budget; increased public investment, and swept away all restrictions on hire purchase trading. He succeeded in bringing down unemployment, increasing exports and production, promoting a boom in spending on consumer goods, and—his outstanding achievement—holding the cost of living steady. But success carries with it the predictable penalty. He has now had to put his policies gently in reverse. Bank rate has gone up; the clearing banks have been required to place deposits with the Bank of England by June 15 to reduce their liquid resources and thereby limit overdrafts; restrictions on hire purchase terms have been reimposed; and the Budget proposals will in a full year increase taxation by a net figure of £71 million. Why? As the Government have explained, the background to the Budget statement “is a very high level of prosperity” and it is expected that in the coming year there will be a considerable increase in the demand made on our resources which could be met only out of limited reserves of labour and capacity. Consumer demand is expected to rise, and government expenditure, largely because of the obligation to fulfil the Conservative election promises in October last year, will go up by more than 4 per cent. It is feared that the economy could not bear the load without danger of another round of inflation (which would produce general demands for higher wages and pension increases) and without imperilling the balance of payments (at £145 million a disappointingly low surplus last year). In Mr. Amory’s own words:

Our present position is one in which production, employment, investment and saving are running at high and satisfactory levels. The cost of living is stable. This is great progress. We all want it to continue. This is entirely possible, provided that we do not force the pace beyond our resources. What those resources permit at any time is a difficult matter of judgment. My own judgment is that the prospective increase in demand . . . is likely at least fully to absorb

and might even involve a danger of outrunning the increase in production which can be expected.

Hence a cautious, even grudging Budget. Hence the deliberate unpopular steps to ease the pressure of home demand on a wide range of consumer goods, including cars, radio and television sets, gramophones, and household appliances—all the contemporary symbols, in fact, of the affluent society which the people of Britain now expect as their right on the mildest of credit terms.

Although by now there is no excuse at all for anybody to be ignorant of the paradox that a booming economy will give the Treasury a fright and cause any Chancellor of the Exchequer to induce his own little corrective recession in home demand, the fact is that Mr. Amory's restrictive measures so far this year, delicate though they have been, have come as a shock to some Conservatives and an undeniable disappointment to almost everybody else. The question is how to escape from these recurring stop-and-go touches to the economic brake and the accelerator; and nobody knows the answer.

Government Spending

IT is fair to say that Mr. Amory's Budget statement itself got a chillier reception from the ministerial benches than any other Budget in memory. True, Ministers had managed to prepare the ground for the Chancellor of the Exchequer in one way and another by discouraging all party expectation that there would be a generous distribution of tax benefits and by constant reminders that Mr. Macmillan had been returned by the electorate on a prospectus of a costly sort that must now be honoured. But still the Conservative rank and file in the Commons looked for a Budget that would be in tune with the prosperity they saw all about them. Thus, Mr. Amory came to the end of his speech in a stony silence on the Conservative side and to vehement if ironic cheering on the benches opposite; and when he went upstairs to explain himself in private to the backbench Finance Committee he was harried and attacked by a frustrated group of Tory "rebels", including Lord Hinchinbrooke, Mr. Nabarro and Mr. Hirst. These capable backbenchers had been the ringleaders of a small band of Conservatives who, in the weeks leading up to the Budget, had been strongly opposing the level of government expenditure and waging a campaign (to which the Government at last gave signs of yielding) for closer surveillance by Parliament over the departmental Estimates.

The rebels generally, and Mr. Nabarro in particular, have carried their attack on Mr. Amory and the Government so far that they have lost the sympathy of most of their colleagues, but it is true to say that they have only taken to the extreme doctrines that are almost generally accepted on the Conservative side, not excluding the Treasury bench. There is a main stream of opinion flowing through the party to which Mr. Amory referred when he said, during the Budget and economic debate, that "the percentage of the gross national product taken by public expenditure is one of the key figures to which we must pay the greatest possible attention". He was commenting with approval on a speech made by Mr. Enoch Powell, the former Financial

Secretary to the Treasury who resigned with Mr. Peter Thorneycroft and who is now in the enjoyment of a different kind of influence and authority as chairman of the backbench Finance Committee. Mr. Powell had caught the essence of Conservative dissatisfaction with present-day trends:

Whenever demand is rising, whenever there is an upsurge of activity in our country, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Government are constantly at risk of being presented with the dilemma either of increasing taxation or of gambling on being able to borrow sums which, if the Government fail to borrow, will have the consequence that the Chancellor will lose control of the monetary system and, indeed, will contribute to inflation at the very moment when he wants to do the opposite.

The point at issue, therefore, is the share of the national cake that the Government should claim. Nor is this decision in practice a question of simple arithmetical calculation. All the experience of Conservatives in recent years goes to show that there is far from enough fundamental control over commitments to expenditure, not only by Parliament as a whole but by the Government themselves. Government policies, as it has been put, have their own kind of cellular growth, so that this year's reasonable commitment may become an almost unbearable burden when it works out its financial logic in years to come. It applies alike to decisions taken in the field of defence to develop new weapons (the original estimates of cost are almost always fantastically modest) and to decisions taken in the field of social policy, such as the health service and education. This explains the growing sense on the Conservative side that there is need for a more realistic projection of the costs of policies at the time they are initiated; need for a committee like the Public Accounts Committee to examine Estimates and keep them under constant critical review; and need for the Commons to change its practice of using Supply days to pass money Votes formally and then to debate general issues.

The Government have already undertaken to see if something may be done along these lines. Meanwhile, there is no doubt that Ministers themselves are disturbed by the trend in government spending. It is no particular secret now that Mr. Amory fought hard in Cabinet to contain the demands of the spending Departments, but was largely defeated by the fact that the Government were too far committed to costly policies by their election pledges. There are already signs that Ministers have seen the danger of letting central government expenditure claim far more of the national income than can be borne honestly and without hardship out of taxation. Present policies, of course, can scarcely be set into reverse, but the likelihood is that the Government will go cautiously in initiating new policies in the rest of the life of this Parliament.

Year of Recovery

NONE of the foregoing, however, should turn attention away from the fact that during 1959 the British economy made a striking recovery. Industrial production rose by nearly 10 per cent and employment by 1.3 per cent; imports and exports both rose; and there was virtually no price

increase, although salaries and wages rose by 3 per cent and the average earnings of manual workers by 5 per cent.

The rise in industrial production affected all the main industrial groups except shipbuilding and coal, and the number of cars produced rose by more than two-fifths to meet the growing demand at home and abroad. The steel industry became increasingly busy throughout the year and by the fourth quarter output was running at 30 per cent higher than a year before; and the industry by the end of the year was working at 98 per cent of capacity—a sure index of industrial acceleration.

In the annual *Economic Survey* the Chancellor of the Exchequer and his advisers looked ahead to the prospects for the current year. They judged that in industrial countries expansion would continue, though probably not so rapidly as last year, and they predicted that the primary producing countries would contribute more to the growth of world trade in 1960 than in 1959, with the increase in their spending power springing from the continued rise in their export earnings and from increased capital investment from abroad.

Public investment in the United Kingdom is thought likely to be about 6 per cent higher than in 1959-60, and private investment promises to increase rapidly, especially in the iron and steel and motor industries. The principal economic dangers foreseen at home were an untoward rise in unit costs if undue increases in pay were to occur, and the tendency to claim too large a share of the benefits of increased productivity for profits rather than to spread them to the consumer to help in keeping down prices and reducing wage pressures.

The *Economic Survey* concluded:

Our aim in 1960 must be to achieve a further steady increase in investment and production without damage to price stability or to the balance of payments. Success will depend on the maintenance of the right balance between total demand and productive resources, on vigilance about costs and prices, and thus on the securing of favourable circumstances for the expansion of our export trade. Given these conditions the country can look forward to a year of continuing progress.

Reorienting Defence Policy

THE Government's decision to end the development of Blue Streak as the military missile that was to have succeeded the present generation of V-bombers as the vehicle for Britain's own nuclear warheads represents a fundamental change in British defence policy. An examination is to be made of the costs of adapting Blue Streak for use in space research, but the fact is that Britain is now out of the missile race and, if some commentators are right, will never be able to enter it again with any hope of making up the ground to be lost. The costs of missile development have proved hopelessly beyond Britain's resources. Blue Streak had already consumed about £100 million in the course of its development, although it has not yet been fired, and the completed programme would have cost five times as much. Now the Government have decided to prolong the life of the V-bomber force by buying the American Sky Bolt, and they have left open

what form Britain's independent nuclear deterrent will take in the late 1960s. Nobody may yet be sure what the consequences of this decision will be, but it is plain to see that the Government are moving quietly from nuclear independence to interdependence. It is true that the Minister of Defence is still sticking to his contention that the Government have not resiled from an independent deterrent, but everybody is conscious that Mr. James Callaghan, a Labour front bench, was coming near the mark when he said that a home-made arrow is not very independent if you have to rely on somebody else for the bow to flight it.

The political repercussions will continue to be considerable. Mr. Duncan Sandys, now the Minister of Aviation and formerly the Minister of Defence, has had to face a vote of censure in the Commons for nursing along Blue Streak with what was reckoned to be obstinate disregard for many expert doubts about the validity of a fixed-site missile; and the Labour leaders suddenly find themselves having to make a hasty retreat from a position in which they were bravely defending an independent nuclear deterrent which apparently will not exist by the time they have any hope of coming back to power. Meanwhile, with much less publicity than the Opposition's internal differences attract, some influential Conservative voices are increasingly heard condemning the Macmillan-Sandys decision, dating from 1957, to base Britain's defence policy on massive nuclear retaliation against Soviet aggression. (This is said to mean that we no longer have the conventional forces capable of imposing a pause in Europe before the nuclear buttons are pressed.)

All in all, the Blue Streak decision is forcing both the Government and the Opposition, and the country in general, to adjust defence thinking to an entirely new situation. The problem is particularly acute for the Labour leaders. They have always had to go carefully on defence if they are to preserve unity in a party rich in pacifists, unilateral nuclear disarmers, neutralists, Russian sympathizers, and American critics; and to their credit they not only initiated the development of Britain's own atomic bombs but at some cost of popularity have stoutly supported British membership of the western alliance and the possession of an independent British nuclear deterrent. As the campaign for unilateral nuclear disarmament has gained ground in the trade unions and in the constituency parties it has become clear to Mr. Gaitskell and his colleagues that clarification of official party policy would be timely, and the cumbrous machinery of consultation between the Labour national executive committee and the Trade Union Congress was set in motion in the spring. But then came Mr. Watkinson's Defence White Paper, with its unmistakable hint that Blue Streak was soon to be abandoned; and, just before Easter, the definitive announcement that the decision had been taken. Evidently clarification of existing policy would no longer be enough; there must be a more fundamental adjustment of defence policy.

While this shift was in train in the high command, the Parliamentary Party prepared for the drubbing of Mr. Sandys in the censure debate. Significantly, the arrangements were nervously bungled. The Opposition leaders asked for just a half day's debate, which virtually meant that only front benchers

would be heard. The plan was changed out of fear of a backbench outcry, and in the absence of Mr. Gaitskell at an international Socialist conference in Israel Mr. George Brown and Mr. Harold Wilson tried to adjust themselves simultaneously to the change in the Government's defence policy and to the fierce pressures that were mounting on their own back benches. So it happened that for the first time the Opposition front bench began to enter reservations about their policy of an independent British nuclear deterrent. And straight away there was wild joy on the Labour left, apparently under the impression that the leadership were now in full retreat from their past and were likely to be carrying "Ban the Bomb" placards in the next march of the nuclear disarmers into Trafalgar Square. (A crowd estimated at well over 50,000 attended the Easter rally.)

It all began with a politically adroit speech from Mr. Brown, a trade unionist who is at once an official of the unilateralist Transport and General Workers Union and by any reckoning a courageous Right-winger in Labour politics. Here are some of the key sentences from Mr. Brown as he arraigned the Government and Mr. Sandys for the failure of Blue Streak:

We have to rethink defence and foreign policy not only in the light of what exists today, but also in the light of what that majority (the Government) is arranging shall be the position in 1970. . . . I have accepted, at some cost one way and another, my share of the responsibility for a decision which I have thought right and for which I have stood. It has been at some cost. . . . I have done it because I thought it right, but even I cannot be expected to go in for a policy that has no chance of ever being successful. If it is no longer feasible, if it is destroyed, then it is not [successful]. . . . Other people might be glad, but I fear that a gap, during which we shall not have a credible means of delivering an independent British deterrent, seems now to be inevitable. If this is true, then it changes much. The argument for maintaining an independent British deterrent for basic political reasons is one thing when we have it and can talk of maintaining it. The argument for going back into the business once we are out of it is altogether different by any test. . . .

It is the biggest Ministerial collapse of modern times. It has cost the taxpayers vast sums of money and it has come without any coherent thought or plans to revise British policy to meet it. It may in the future bring about a new situation to which we may have to readjust ourselves.

After that, the Opposition not only poured into the lobby united (as they have not been on recent defence issues) but began taking it for granted that there had been a sudden great victory alike for the Left-wing, for the neutralists, for the bomb-banners, and for those Labour defence specialists who believe emphasis should be shifted from nuclear strike to conventional strength.

This was the situation that confronted Mr. Gaitskell when he returned to the helm, and he immediately spoke out with courage. He said that there was no justification for the belief that the Labour Party was going pacifist, and nothing said by the party's official spokesmen in the Blue Streak debate meant that they wanted to disarm unilaterally, give up N.A.T.O., and become neutralist. The Blue Streak decision faced not only the Opposition but the Government and the country with complex and difficult issues, and the

Labour leaders would continue their examination of them carefully and coolly. "In doing so", he said, "we have to consider questions not only of cost and the extent of our dependence on the United States. We must especially bear in mind the urgent need for stopping the spread of nuclear weapons to more and more countries."

In other words, Mr. Gaitskell was firmly bringing his party down to earth and forcing realism upon them. But there can hardly be a doubt that in the next month or two the Labour leaders will find their old position on defence politically untenable and will be obliged to draft a compromise that stands some reasonable chance of winning acceptance at the conferences of the larger trade unions and eventually the annual party conference in the autumn. And not the least interesting aspect of the Labour argument on defence, which will take place in public, is that it will in some respects reflect the problems that the Government themselves must now seek to solve in private. There are great issues involved that are common to both the front benches; and one of the most important is the inter-relation of defence policy with foreign policy. If Britain is moving towards interdependence in the one field, can it ultimately retain independence in the other? And if there is to be fundamental interdependence, what are the implications likely to be for British interests across the world?

Whither the Railways?

THROUGHOUT the summer an independent team of four advisers drawn from industry and commerce will be reporting to the British Transport Commission and the Government on the decentralization of the nationalized railways; and their recommendations will serve as the basis for a Bill which the Government have promised to bring in next session. This is the outcome of the acceptance by the Government (after the Guillebaud Report making comparisons with wages and salaries in analogous industries) of the obligation to see that fair and reasonable wages are paid to railway workers. In return, railway workers, British Transport Commission, and the travelling public have been told they must accept the obligation to make it possible for the railway system to be radically reorganized so that it may operate on a reduced scale without placing an intolerable burden on the taxpayer. Fares and freight charges are to go up and some uneconomic services will be brought to an end.

In short, after years of hoping against all the evidence, the Government have now reconciled themselves to the stark fact that the railways can no longer be reasonably expected to pay their own way, and the new problem is how to limit the subsidy the taxpayer will have to find in years to come. It is at this unlucky time that the Channel Study Group, set up in 1957, has at last produced a practical scheme for a railway tunnel to link England with France across the Channel.* The plan would cost about £109 million, of which about £29 million would be provided by British and French railways to cover the cost of installations, terminals and rolling stock. But the study

* See also p. 270.

group had no sooner made their announcement than a powerful case was made out against detailed financial proposals that would have the effect of causing taxpayers in Britain and France to underwrite the major part of the investment. Although no government decision will be reached immediately it is fairly clear that Mr. Macmillan and his colleagues, who have already run into criticism for the financial backing they have recently given to industries in need, will hardly think that a railway tunnel from Folkestone to Calais is a reasonable burden for the taxpayer to be asked to prepare himself to carry.

Great Britain,
May 1960.

NORTHERN IRELAND

ONE of the less fortunate results of the system of self-government within the United Kingdom is the extent to which Northern Ireland has been removed from Westminster's ken. When the House of Commons briefly devoted itself to Northern Irish affairs on March 31 it was for the first time for four years. Even then the debate was on a private member's motion: not as yet has Parliament shown a disposition to review its somewhat accidental essay in devolution which, as recorded in the last issue of *THE ROUND TABLE*, will shortly be forty years old, nor indeed to provide an annual opportunity for debate. For this the twelve Ulster Unionist members may have themselves to blame.

With more patience the occasion might have been in government time and its scope and importance elevated accordingly. As it was the House numbered no more than fifty, and to the Unionist chagrin the Conservative attendance was less than Labour's. Such scant support from its allies in the Government was a poor reward for a fidelity that has sometimes been carried to the point of self-immolation.

That is not to say that the Home Secretary, as the Minister responsible for Northern Ireland's oversight, has been negligent in his duty. Mr. Butler, in his many-sided portfolio, has not failed to give Ulster a due attention. But it would appear that neither he nor his colleagues in the Cabinet have yet been able to resolve the greatest of the issues thrown up by the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, viz. the degree of the British Government's responsibility for applying to Northern Ireland the national policy of full employment. It has long been a criticism of the system that the subordinate Parliament in Belfast has been left too much to its own circumscribed devices in procuring a remedy for a state of under-development reflected by an unemployment rate of 7.5 per cent and a standard of living correspondingly low. Again, that is not to say that the Treasury has not authorized capital expenditures on a generous scale, but it is still the case that in the attraction and creation of new industry the Government of Northern Ireland has to act largely for itself.

It has done so through its Ministries of Finance and Commerce, a Development Council which is chiefly an advertising medium, and a range of induce-

ments which until now were in advance of any on offer in Great Britain. These moderately successful arrangements, however, have been altered by the Local Employment Act, in which the British Government aims to channel new factories to those areas in England, Scotland and Wales where unemployment is 4 per cent and over, and holds out financial aid on a scale which Northern Ireland can no longer usefully exceed.

It is this new legislation, coupled with the fact that Ulster has lately failed to benefit fully from Britain's prosperity and industrial expansion, that gave the debate at Westminster an almost exclusively economic approach. Mr. Butler's reply proved that no clear means have been found of mitigating that geographical isolation which is the primary cause of the leeway. He undertook that industrialists who are refused permission to start manufacture in places of their choice will be informed of Northern Ireland as well as of the scheduled areas, but this is broadly the existing practice of the Board of Trade, and hardly enough to balance the competitive position. Any further steps now await a meeting which Lord Brookeborough is about to have with the Home Secretary in London, though it is not known how comprehensively this is intended to deal with the problem, nor how far the whole fiscal relationship is to be re-examined in advance of the Budget on May 24.

At home the Prime Minister is having to face probably the heaviest pressure he has known in his seventeen years in office. There is now a general realization that the pace of development is inadequate to provide for a high birth rate, to replace industries in decline and to secure economic viability, with all that this means to the preservation of political stability. For want of specific measures the demand is that the Prime Minister should reconstruct his Cabinet to enable fresh minds to address themselves to the problem. It is true that in so small a Parliament Ministers tend to be overlong in post, as in the case of the Minister of Labour and National Insurance, Mr. Ivan Neill, who was appointed as long ago as 1950, and of Lord Glentoran, who has grappled manfully with the key Ministry of Commerce for seven years.

One must acknowledge, however, that in the absence of greater activity on the part of local capital (the decline of private enterprise in industry has been a contradictory accompaniment of self-government) only measures of a radical order remain open to the Government. Financial inducements as such are clearly at a maximum, and short of State industries or direction by Whitehall, which the sea barrier alone must make impossible, economic thinking is turning from rent-free factories and the like to more powerful stimulants. Among these are taxation reliefs and finance at rates of interest lower than those prevailing in Great Britain. The latter is regarded all the more importantly in the light of the warnings by the Chancellor of the Exchequer that credit may have to be restricted. Such a tendency to dearer money must again be prejudicial to Northern Ireland and delay still further the one condition likely to bring about full use of its resources, a widespread shortage of labour in Great Britain. In the meantime the Westminster debate tended to concentrate upon narrower matters such as the safeguarding of the aircraft industry at Belfast, which has not been covered by the current rationalization, and of shipbuilding in which a severe fall in employment is

in prospect in 1961. As these industries together employ some 30,000 men the economy is all too heavily dependent upon them.

For the rest the debate again displayed the political defensiveness which can also be accounted one of Northern Ireland's weaknesses. The Unionist motion called on the House of Commons to deplore the continuance of armed raids across the border, despite the fact that these are now isolated incidents dangerous in themselves but not a major threat to the State.

Mr. Butler, in reply, did not fail to renew the assurances on Northern Ireland's integrity expected of him, but in saying:* "Your border is our border. Your soil is our soil", he provoked a sharp rejoinder from the Prime Minister of the Republic, Mr. Lemass, and did nothing to reduce the atmosphere of tension in which young Irishmen look to violence as the only means of protesting against Partition. The three years of unlawful activity by the Irish Republican Army have, undoubtedly, been a serious threat to peace, but it may be questioned whether the Unionist Party is dignified or wise in repeatedly seeking guarantees of the British Government's support. The Constitution itself is not in peril, having regard to the limited nature of the attacks and the final right of self-determination conferred on the Parliament of Northern Ireland by the Ireland Act, 1949. Forty years of self-government have not been long enough for Protestant Ulster to outgrow an insecurity that goes back to the native rebellion of 1641, and the Siege of Derry nearly half-a-century later. It also serves the Unionist Party well that there should appear to be an immediate threat of absorption into an Irish Republic. That this attitude has its element of political expediency is probably best shown by the anxiety to represent outside Northern Ireland that it is an area with all the stability demanded by those to whom it looks for new investment.

Similarly, the party has for the time being successfully interred the issue of co-operation with the Roman Catholic minority described in the last number of *THE ROUND TABLE*.† For all the divided feelings which this aroused, the annual conference of the Unionist Party and the annual meeting of the Ulster Unionist Council passed without its being mentioned, a not uncommon example of the avoidance of any debate that might reflect on the party's constant singleness of mind.

Later, Sir Clarence Graham, whose liberal opinions earned a public rebuke from the Prime Minister, was re-elected chairman of the Standing Committee, again without bringing the controversy into the open. From these events it is clear that the extreme Protestant wing of the Unionist Party, organized in the Orange Order, is continuing to dictate the party line and to impose silence on those who believe that if the political, and economic, growth of Northern Ireland is to be secured in the future, there must be greater integration of the Protestant and Roman Catholic communities. It is here that tolerance most needs to be encouraged. That it is widening beneath the surface is true, but until the Prime Minister himself gives a lead it cannot become a guide to official policy.

Northern Ireland,

May 1960.

* See p. 293.

† See *THE ROUND TABLE*, No. 198, March 1960, p. 183.

IRELAND

FACING REALITY

THE people of the Irish Republic are ending the sixth decade of the twentieth century in a somewhat chastened mood. After forty years of political independence we have begun to realize that we are not, and cannot become, really independent. By a slow process of trial and error we have discovered the somewhat obvious fact that agriculture, and the industries deriving therefrom, constitute the basis of our economy, but that agriculture alone cannot provide sufficient employment for our surplus population. At the same time it has become clear that because of our defective educational system, inefficient marketing methods, obsolete techniques and lack of enterprise, neither our agriculture nor our industries are holding their own in world markets. In price, marketing and production we are unfortunately falling farther behind other countries instead of making good the ground already lost.* We cannot afford to join the Common Market which is not prepared to take our agricultural produce, and we dare not risk joining the competitive industrial Free Trade Area. Moreover, as we have recently been sharply reminded, even in our only substantial market, Great Britain, we no longer hold a privileged position and must adjust ourselves to new and rapidly changing conditions. In short we are being brought face to face with reality, and this process, though necessary and salutary, is also painful, and likely to be protracted. We have yet to discover that the British Isles, political forms notwithstanding, are one economic unit; that a complete overhaul of our educational system is more essential than the purchase of jet aircraft; that the Irish people are more important than the Irish language; and that national unity is a spiritual condition which cannot be attained by force or secured by political incantations. We must now learn to put first things first.

Anglo-Irish Trade Talks

OUR return to reality has been expedited by the current Anglo-Irish trade talks, which began in London on February 12 in what Mr. Lemass, who led our delegation, described as "a friendly and co-operative atmosphere". He was accompanied by Mr. Smith, the Minister for Agriculture, and Mr. Lynch, the Minister for Industry and Commerce, the British Government being represented by Mr. Maudling, President of the Board of Trade, Mr. Hare, Minister for Agriculture, and Lord Home, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations. At this preliminary meeting the Irish delegation put forward the revolutionary proposal that Irish agricultural produce should not only be granted unrestricted access to the British market, but should also be paid for at British guaranteed prices. In return our representatives offered increased preference on British exports to the Republic. It seems clear that having regard to their obligations under G.A.T.T. (the

* The survey recently published by the Economic Commission for Europe states that Ireland has made slower progress in raising national income during the last decade than any of the under-developed countries of southern Europe.

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade to which Ireland is *not* a party) the British Government could not have agreed to these proposals unless they led to an Anglo-Irish Free Trade Area. They would also have affected the current trade agreements between the Irish Republic, Canada and the United States. The extension of British guaranteed prices to Irish agricultural produce would certainly have raised vehement objection not only from the British taxpayer, but also from the British farmer, Northern Ireland, the Commonwealth countries, and last but not least, the Conservative Party. The Irish proposals, as Mr. Lemass afterwards ruefully acknowledged, were therefore "outside the realm of practical politics". Why they were ever made is difficult to understand, for their outright rejection by the British Government was inevitable. It is understood that the British representatives pointed out that the practical and other obstacles to the carrying out of such a project were such as no trade advantages could surmount. That bitter humorist Myles na Gopaleen unkindly compared the plight of Mr. Lemass to that of the fox who having escaped from a zoo was found two days later scratching on the door because he wanted his dinner "having found that the freedom he had craved was illusory".* In spite of this setback the discussions for a supplementary Anglo-Irish trade agreement were continued at official level and ended in a rather disappointing supplementary agreement on April 13 which provides that our T.B.-tested store cattle will enjoy the same guaranteed prices as British, and reaffirms the special trade relationship between the two countries. Provision is also made for periodic consultation to solve any special difficulties which may arise. Speaking in Dublin on March 5 Mr. Lemass said that we were not going to join either the European Common Market or the Free Trade Area because a calm, objective examination of all the courses open to us at this time suggested that our prospects of economic expansion might be better if we did not. Nobody was pressing us either way. "Trade discussions with Britain were", he said, "necessarily first on our agenda because Britain is by far our largest European customer. The agreement with Britain is the keystone of our external trade structure and once we know how precisely we stand in relation to British trade we can investigate more precisely possibilities on the European mainland." Mr. Lemass added that when we had overhauled our production and marketing methods we need have no fear so far as trade opportunities were concerned. It was not what might happen in Europe that would decide our national economic progress, but what happened here at home, and that was entirely within our own control. Mr. Lemass might have added that we should have been in a much better position if Great Britain had not made the immense miscalculation of refusing to take her proper place in the new European economy on the pretence that this step would disrupt the economic unity, now becoming as nebulous as their political unity, of the highly protected Commonwealth states.

A Grave Warning

ON March 10 Mr. Lemass during the debate on the Vote on Account reminded the Dail that it would have to face the facts concerning the

* *The Irish Times*, March 2, 1960.

increased cost of government administration.* This he attributed to three main factors, namely: the higher remuneration of public servants, the higher cost of the welfare services and the administrative cost of the programme for economic expansion. The Government, he said, had been seriously concerned by the possible consequences of the recent general round of wage and salary increases,† which was not occasioned by an increase in the cost of living, and which in effect meant that the whole benefit of the improvement in the national income had been secured by one section only, the wage and salary earners. They were particularly concerned by three aspects of the matter, the effect upon the cost of living, the effect of a higher general wage level for industrial and urban workers at a time when agricultural income was declining and the possible effect upon our export trade. It was, he pointed out, a complete illusion to think that workers could get higher wages without somebody's paying. If sales at home or abroad were reduced by higher production costs the effect would be to reduce employment. The farmer was faced with the prospect of higher costs at a time when farm prices generally were tending downwards. He then announced that measures were under consideration by the Government to increase farm prices and farm subsidies even though it meant further burdens on the taxpayer. All our people would appreciate that our prosperity could only be built on the security of the agricultural industry. As regards our export trade Mr. Lemass said it was quite clear that, unless the effect of higher wages was completely offset by greater efficiency, harder work and increased productivity any hope of economic expansion would be destroyed. If we were to win our fight against emigration the national income must be expanded and we could only expand it by an increase in our exports at competitive prices. As an acceptable standard of living here was determined by conditions prevailing in Great Britain we must, in order to keep our people at home, secure such an expansion in our national income as would enable us to maintain living standards comparable with those obtaining in Britain. In this fight against emigration, in which we were not certain of victory, it could not be said that the achievements so far, substantial though they had been, were sufficient to guarantee ultimate success. Referring to the disparities between our exports to, and our imports from, a number of European countries Mr. Lemass said that representatives of these countries had pointed out that there was free access to their markets for many of our products and that our efforts were insufficient to take advantage of these opportunities. The most we could hope for as a result of negotiations with these countries was to improve our opportunity for selling our products in a comparatively free market on equal terms with others. This depended entirely on what we did to improve our efficiency, production and marketing methods. On April 12 the Minister for Agriculture announced certain subsidies, and price changes as regards agricultural produce and fertilizers, to be met partly by the consumer and partly by the taxpayer, which will have the effect of increasing farming income by over £2 million. The net result, however, will probably be

* These show an increase of £5 million over last year.

† See THE ROUND TABLE, No. 198, March 1960, p. 190.

another rise in the cost of living, followed inevitably by fresh demands for higher wages.

More Border "Back-chat"

THE periodical outbursts of acrimonious controversy between our Northern and Southern politicians have now become both absurd and boring, resembling in their substance and timing the "back-chat" peculiar to music-hall comedians of the old school. The latest of these slanging matches was touched off by Mr. Butler, the British Home Secretary, during a debate on Northern Irish affairs in the House of Commons. Having no economic help to offer Northern Ireland he delivered himself of the portentous statement that "Your border is our border, your soil is our soil". Mr. Lemass naturally replied that "we claim the whole of Ireland as our national territory, and we assert the fundamental right of the Irish people to sovereignty over it". He went on to quote with approval the words of King George V (in fact suggested by Field Marshal Smuts) when he opened the first Parliament of Northern Ireland in 1921. The King then voiced the noble expectation that this event would prove no more than "the prelude of the day in which the Irish people, North and South, under one Parliament or two, as those parliaments may themselves decide, shall work together in common love for Ireland upon the sure foundation of mutual justice and respect". Mr. Lemass having thus, no doubt unconsciously, endorsed the sound principles contained in the Government of Ireland Act of 1920 which the Sinn Fein Party torpedoed, also admitted that if such an agreement was arrived at no British Government could prevent its fulfilment. But he did not explain how such an agreement was possible unless his Government was first willing to recognize the Government of Northern Ireland. The exchange did not, however, end there, for Lord Brookeborough could not resist the opportunity to join in the fray, proclaiming that "this brotherly embrace from Eire would develop very quickly into a bear's hug"! Mr. Lemass, indeed, lost a splendid opportunity of supporting the Northern claim for more generous treatment from Great Britain and of pointing out its implications, for the only policy on which all Irishmen are certain to unite is that of making the British pay! On the whole one gets the impression from these exchanges that the politicians on both sides of the border are only playing to their respective galleries and that they would be sadly disappointed if moderate and intelligent counsels prevailed. There has been, however, a marked decrease in terrorist activity this winter, its only recent manifestation being two senseless and abortive attacks on Northern police patrols in the immediate vicinity of the border. The powers of the Dublin Government to deal with these "heroes" have been strengthened by the majority decision of the European Commission of Human Rights that the detention by them in 1957 of one Richard Lawless under the powers given by the Offences Against the State Act did not, because of the public emergency existing here at that time, violate the European Convention of Human Rights.* In view of the fundamental importance of the legal issues involved the Commission

* See THE ROUND TABLE, No. 198, March 1960, p. 187.

increased cost of government administration.* This he attributed to three main factors, namely: the higher remuneration of public servants, the higher cost of the welfare services and the administrative cost of the programme for economic expansion. The Government, he said, had been seriously concerned by the possible consequences of the recent general round of wage and salary increases,† which was not occasioned by an increase in the cost of living, and which in effect meant that the whole benefit of the improvement in the national income had been secured by one section only, the wage and salary earners. They were particularly concerned by three aspects of the matter, the effect upon the cost of living, the effect of a higher general wage level for industrial and urban workers at a time when agricultural income was declining and the possible effect upon our export trade. It was, he pointed out, a complete illusion to think that workers could get higher wages without somebody's paying. If sales at home or abroad were reduced by higher production costs the effect would be to reduce employment. The farmer was faced with the prospect of higher costs at a time when farm prices generally were tending downwards. He then announced that measures were under consideration by the Government to increase farm prices and farm subsidies even though it meant further burdens on the taxpayer. All our people would appreciate that our prosperity could only be built on the security of the agricultural industry. As regards our export trade Mr. Lemass said it was quite clear that, unless the effect of higher wages was completely offset by greater efficiency, harder work and increased productivity any hope of economic expansion would be destroyed. If we were to win our fight against emigration the national income must be expanded and we could only expand it by an increase in our exports at competitive prices. As an acceptable standard of living here was determined by conditions prevailing in Great Britain we must, in order to keep our people at home, secure such an expansion in our national income as would enable us to maintain living standards comparable with those obtaining in Britain. In this fight against emigration, in which we were not certain of victory, it could not be said that the achievements so far, substantial though they had been, were sufficient to guarantee ultimate success. Referring to the disparities between our exports to, and our imports from, a number of European countries Mr. Lemass said that representatives of these countries had pointed out that there was free access to their markets for many of our products and that our efforts were insufficient to take advantage of these opportunities. The most we could hope for as a result of negotiations with these countries was to improve our opportunity for selling our products in a comparatively free market on equal terms with others. This depended entirely on what we did to improve our efficiency, production and marketing methods. On April 12 the Minister for Agriculture announced certain subsidies, and price changes as regards agricultural produce and fertilizers, to be met partly by the consumer and partly by the taxpayer, which will have the effect of increasing farming income by over £2 million. The net result, however, will probably be

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another rise in the cost of living, followed inevitably by fresh demands for higher wages.

More Border "Back-chat"

THE periodical outbursts of acrimonious controversy between our Northern and Southern politicians have now become both absurd and boring, resembling in their substance and timing the "back-chat" peculiar to music-hall comedians of the old school. The latest of these slanging matches was touched off by Mr. Butler, the British Home Secretary, during a debate on Northern Irish affairs in the House of Commons. Having no economic help to offer Northern Ireland he delivered himself of the portentous statement that "Your border is our border, your soil is our soil". Mr. Lemass naturally replied that "we claim the whole of Ireland as our national territory, and we assert the fundamental right of the Irish people to sovereignty over it". He went on to quote with approval the words of King George V (in fact suggested by Field Marshal Smuts) when he opened the first Parliament of Northern Ireland in 1921. The King then voiced the noble expectation that this event would prove no more than "the prelude of the day in which the Irish people, North and South, under one Parliament or two, as those parliaments may themselves decide, shall work together in common love for Ireland upon the sure foundation of mutual justice and respect". Mr. Lemass having thus, no doubt unconsciously, endorsed the sound principles contained in the Government of Ireland Act of 1920 which the Sinn Fein Party torpedoed, also admitted that if such an agreement was arrived at no British Government could prevent its fulfilment. But he did not explain how such an agreement was possible unless his Government was first willing to recognize the Government of Northern Ireland. The exchange did not, however, end there, for Lord Brookeborough could not resist the opportunity to join in the fray, proclaiming that "this brotherly embrace from Eire would develop very quickly into a bear's hug"! Mr. Lemass, indeed, lost a splendid opportunity of supporting the Northern claim for more generous treatment from Great Britain and of pointing out its implications, for the only policy on which all Irishmen are certain to unite is that of making the British pay! On the whole one gets the impression from these exchanges that the politicians on both sides of the border are only playing to their respective galleries and that they would be sadly disappointed if moderate and intelligent counsels prevailed. There has been, however, a marked decrease in terrorist activity this winter, its only recent manifestation being two senseless and abortive attacks on Northern police patrols in the immediate vicinity of the border. The powers of the Dublin Government to deal with these "heroes" have been strengthened by the majority decision of the European Commission of Human Rights that the detention by them in 1957 of one Richard Lawless under the powers given by the Offences Against the State Act did not, because of the public emergency existing here at that time, violate the European Convention of Human Rights.* In view of the fundamental importance of the legal issues involved the Commission

* See THE ROUND TABLE, No. 198, March 1960, p. 187.

has, however, referred the case to the European Court of Human Rights for a final decision. It is the first case to be so dealt with.

Other Problems

THE recent Dail debate on the future of University College Dublin (the principal college of the National University) affords a clear instance of *not* putting first things first. It is notorious that our inefficient and out-of-date system of primary and secondary education requires a drastic overhaul, yet the Dail by a large majority approved a plan for the removal of the College to a site several miles outside the city at an estimated cost of over £12 million, although it has been shown by a Tuairim Research Group that a more efficient and economical solution of the problem could be found by the enlargement of the present site and a reconstruction of the existing buildings.* If large sums of money are to be spent on education, as is, indeed, highly desirable, the foundations should be dealt with first. Many of the primary school buildings are out of date and in bad repair, the syllabus is unsuitable and the children's general education is subordinated to the teaching of Irish. The buildings and equipment of the secondary schools, particularly as regards scientific teaching, are for the most part inadequate and, except for a few small scholarships, secondary education is virtually closed to the poor man's child so that there is a denial of opportunity and a tragic waste of talent. The full measure of our "larger lunacy" is revealed by the recent serious proposal of the Gaelic League that an Irish-speaking university should be set up although neither qualified professors nor textbooks are available for such an institution. Our successive governments have frequently, and with profit, invoked the assistance of independent foreign experts to advise them as regards such matters as electricity supply, finance and agriculture. A similar investigation of our whole educational system is long overdue, but it is extremely unlikely that our present Government or any possible successor will have sufficient courage to take this step, having regard to the powerful vested interests involved.

Even more fantastic than the proposal to establish a Gaelic university is the project, recently launched with much publicity, to build a large modern port on the Shannon estuary. The deep well-sheltered anchorages of our western coast have long been a source of inspiration and hope to consulting engineers. But depth and shelter are not enough. A port depends not merely on its natural advantages but on its geographical position and the population it serves. The company that has been formed for the development of the Shannon estuary apparently believes that by spending over £20 million they can provide a port which will be used by vessels of 100,000 tons (at present only one in number†) which could not be accommodated elsewhere and that it would eventually become a major deep-water transshipment port. The question which has so far not been answered is what European country would be

* *University College Dublin and the Future*, Tuairim Research Group.

† The *Universe Apollo*, owned by Universe Tankships Inc. and registered in Liberia. Two other ships in this category are under construction, but their future development is problematical.

likely to use such a port in preference to its own, and why the United States, or any other country, should do so when suitable continental ports are available. By 1961 both Europort, outside Rotterdam, and Milford Haven will be able to take fully loaded vessels of 100,000 tons dead weight and 50 feet draught. The use of the Shannon estuary would in any event entail a diversion of over one hundred miles from the Atlantic shipping routes and would, therefore, be quite uneconomic. This is the reason why the British and American oil companies jointly chose Cork Harbour for the site of their Irish refinery. None of the directors of the promoting company are connected with shipping and the Government has so far shown no inclination to finance the project. Meantime, farther up the Shannon the Airport, which is already feeling the draught of the jet age, is making a gallant attempt to establish a free port manufacturing zone, heavily subsidized and free from taxation, in which a few small foreign industries, including a Japanese factory for making transistor valves, have begun to operate. In Killarney a German firm, also subsidized, has built a large factory for the manufacture of cranes, while at Rushbrooke on Cork Harbour Dutch shipbuilders are teaching Irishmen to build an Irish ship. We are in fact witnessing a new, and let us hope profitable, invasion of our depopulated island.

An Optimistic Budget

DR. RYAN'S fourth budget, introduced on April 27, established a new record as regards expenditure. After making provision for the increased agricultural subsidies, increased pay and pensions, and the new television service, this amounts to £139 million. But there is in addition an increased capital budget of £54 million, at least half of which must be raised by borrowing, making a grand total of £193 million. Interest on our national debt now amounts to one-fifth of our expenditure and will soon be more. To meet this situation Dr. Ryan only made one tax increase, namely one penny on each packet of 20 cigarettes and ounce of tobacco. On the other hand he granted various minor, but desirable reliefs. These included an increase of 1s. a week in social welfare pensions and unemployed assistance; a small increase of £20 in the income-tax allowance for children; a removal of the duty on fuel oils and paraffin; and a reduction of the duty on cinemas and dance halls. The special customs levies on clothing, furniture, toys, newsprint and fresh fruit, originally imposed in 1957 to rectify the balance of payments, are removed, and the death duties limit raised from £2,000 to £5,000. Dr. Ryan stated that last year ended with a surplus of £1,200,000 and he is satisfied that we are "on the road to a solution of our remaining social and economic problems". His grounds for this belief are that there was an increase last year of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in real national income, of £13 million in savings and of 10 per cent in industrial exports. Taking the last three years together our external payments have been in balance. His optimism may be justified if we are prepared to work hard, and to realize that there is no quick or certain solution of our difficulties.

Ireland,

May 1960.

INDIA

PORTRAIT OF A POLITY

SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL once described himself as only the roar of the British Lion. It may not be wholly inapt or unfair to call Mr. Nehru the face, if not the façade, of the Indian polity. A smoothly democratic face it is; and it impresses most foreigners who visit the country briefly or come hither from frankly autocratic régimes. The Indian people also generally take some just pride in their democratic institutions and their relatively efficient administration. Then suddenly something happens, or comes to light; and the hollowness of democracy's proud institutions and the emptiness of some heroes worshipped for long lie bare. The name of Mr. Mundhra, who took the nationalized Life Insurance Corporation for an expensive ride, has now passed into the common vocabulary of corruption. Mr. M. O. Mathai, the Prime Minister's Special Assistant, now stands with Mr. Sherman Adams of the United States. In the years to come the not very unusual Maharashtrian name of Nanavati may come to mean much more than a Commander in the small Indian Navy.

The known facts of the case, now *sub judice* before the Supreme Court, are easily stated. Commander Nanavati, an officer with a good record, was charged with the murder of his wife's lover, a Prem Ahuja. The jury found him not guilty by a majority, but the judge called the verdict "perverse" and referred the case to Bombay High Court. The latter found the accused guilty and gave him a life sentence, meanwhile ordering his transfer from naval custody. Even as the High Court judgment was being delivered, certain parties (not all of whom may have been publicly identified yet) went into action; and the next thing the High Court and the public knew was that the Bombay Governor had suspended the judgment and that Commander Nanavati was to remain in naval custody until the Supreme Court disposed of the case. Further shocking revelations then came thick and fast. The Prime Minister told a press conference in New Delhi that he had been consulted, that he had advised the Bombay Government over the trunk telephone, that the Chief of the Naval Staff had seen the Prime Minister, that this interference with judicial processes was unusual but nothing "improper" or unconstitutional. About the same time a naval rating was found guilty in comparable circumstances; and a reporter asked Mr. Nehru if all these things would be done for a lesser man. He said he hoped he would act likewise.

The country hoped so too, but was far less sure. Whatever the Supreme Court may decide, whatever are the conclusions of the Prime Minister on his own action, the country has passed its verdict already. It is now certain, for instance, that the Prime Minister had to intervene even in a matter like this, that the judiciary can be treated with contempt if the Prime Minister so desires, that given the right connexions an Indian can bypass all due processes of the law, that there is probably one law for officers and gentlemen

and another for the ranks and ordinary citizens, that on unknown conditions the services can demand and obtain special treatment from the executive.

Apart from questions of morality and propriety, the constitutional position is now dangerously vague. It was argued by the Advocate General of Bombay that no court of law could question a Governor's order, whether it had been issued with or without the advice of the State Government. Governors, hitherto regarded as decorative pieces, would according to this reasoning appear to be very powerful indeed. The President never tires of telling lawyers in India that they have special responsibilities, inasmuch as the House of Commons is sovereign* but the Indian Parliament is subject to the Constitution as interpreted by the judiciary. The Constitution is supreme. Is it?

It is becoming increasingly clear that, while the people are daily asked to be proud of their noble Constitution, at least some politicians are finding it something of an embarrassment. All the traditional checks and balances of democracy are embodied in the Constitution, but Ministers are impatient of checks and balances as alien to the Indian politician. The thing has been amended several times, mostly to introduce constraints on individual freedom or to contract the powers of the judiciary. Even the Auditor General, responsible only to the President, recently came in for considerable criticism because he had questioned the accounts of the Defence Ministry, because he had openly doubted the propriety of Ministers' using aircraft of the Indian Air Force to attend to party affairs. The Prime Minister once described part of a Supreme Court judge's verdict as "stupid", and then apologized only under a barrage of criticism in the press. The Finance Ministry will soon introduce a Bill defining the duties of the Auditor General. Everyone knows what defining means.

Despite the incorporations from the American Constitution, the present leadership of the country seems determined to ensure that political decisions remain the highest in the land. Enough bad precedents have been created already; and unless the process is reversed early it cannot be long before open jobbery becomes rampant in every department of the nation's life. With High Court judges looking for jobs on retirement, with public-service commissions influenced or ignored, with the Auditor-General's independence reduced, with reports of parliamentary public-accounts committees quietly shelved, in every matter whatever the politician says goes. No wonder the students in Calcutta and elsewhere cynically tear off question-and-answer papers at examination halls. They simply have no faith in the impartiality of the administration as a whole. One has to know somebody in power to get anywhere in India today; and although the country has not yet been told clearly just what led to the threatened resignation of General Thimayya, Chief of the Army Staff, it should surprise nobody to know one day that even in the services nobody any more relies only on good work for going far.

The pleasing gloss on the Indian polity is fast wearing off; and a sense of frustration pervades the country. A journalist recently went round ten universities in the country and came back with the most depressing conclusions. Not one area of the people's life is today immune to the corruption of

* It is not.—*Editor.*

politicians, whose powers increase steadily. Mr. Nehru has so far managed to remain above suspicion, personally; but many are beginning to wonder whether he can be ignorant of what to everyone else is so obvious. Does he approve of what has been going on around him? If he does not, what is he going to do about it? When?

Chinese Firmness

MR. NEHRU's invitation to the Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Chou En-lai, to come to Delhi for "talks" was phrased so curtly, to say nothing of the harsher accompanying Note or the speech later in Parliament, that it was something of a surprise when Mr. Chou accepted it. Whether the invitation was extended at the instance of Mr. Khrushchev will not be known for certain for long; the coincidence in time was certainly striking. But the general talks Mr. Nehru had in mind, as distinct from negotiations, probably *did* take place, for the impressive array of experts both lined up were rarely called in. It is more than likely that the general talks between the two Premiers ran into such difficulties to start with that they never got down to the details the experts were to take care of. The country's disappointment over the failure of the talks was limited, for many feared that they might succeed at the expense of Indian territory. A section of the press and some political parties had been urging the Prime Minister to be firm with the Chinese visitor, apparently on the unproven apprehension that the former might be inclined to make concessions.

The Chinese were firm throughout the talks, but they were at least polite during their stay in the Indian capital. This civility deserted the delegation when it got to Kathmandu, where at a press conference Mr. Chou singled out Indian reporters for insult. Even more foul in his temper appeared to be Mr. Chou's deputy, said to be a rising man. He said how China had been wronged in Formosa. Mr. Chou added, "And Macao". Nobody knows why Hongkong was left out. But there is no doubt at all that China is now exceedingly peevisish with India and Mr. Nehru. Mr. Nehru is probably only disappointed, although he has now begun to take a long-term view of the problem. He recently indicated that a solution of the border dispute with China might come in ten years—or forty. This has naturally led to the debate whether time is on China's side or India's. It is certainly not on Mr. Nehru's, which raises the corollary whether Mr. Nehru is leaving the problem behind him in a shape manageable by his successors. It is not surprising that more than two answers can be heard in the country.

Since China is in occupation of Indian territory, the time wasted in protracted negotiations can perhaps be used by China for further consolidation, if not extension. China is apparently in no hurry to reach a settlement with India. Isolated by so many nations, China may not care much for the estrangement of one country more or less. As for the impression the dispute creates in other Asian countries, perhaps many exaggerated its nature and importance. Judging by the hesitancy of Nepal and Burma, Peking may well conclude that might may be the better persuader. India is in no position, by herself, to extend any military help to Nepal or Burma, should China decide

to attack either; and both have apparently decided that it is better not to provoke China. There has been some comment on Nepal's refusal to make India's quarrel its own; but the small country's nervousness should be appreciated. May not India also be relieved that her commitment is limited to her own borders?

The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London will have been over by the time these lines are in print—with perhaps little difference made to India's problems. After some initial hesitation, Mr. Nehru decided to raise the question of *apartheid* in South Africa. He will have spoken more in sorrow than in anger; and this may well be the right approach. There is not in the country any very great demand for the expulsion of South Africa from the Commonwealth, if only because there is realization that this will help none. Nor is much heard nowadays about India's leaving the Commonwealth, although there is a perceptible awareness of the American presence in the world. There has been a corresponding decrease in popular admiration for the Russians, but the latter know that this is partly a reaction to China's behaviour and do not much resent the current absence of visible enthusiasm. Nor is appreciation of things American much misunderstood now. Perhaps, while India is ranged directly against China, it is that country which is destined to pose the rest of the world its biggest puzzle in the coming decade—although General de Gaulle is the only one to have spoken so far in these terms.

It is not easy to see what part the Commonwealth as such is going to play in the unfolding of events involving China. Looked at from India, most world leaders seem insufficiently aware of the magnitude of the Chinese problem. Perhaps it also hurts Mr. Nehru to ask anyone else to share his Chinese headache, although it would be surprising if he still thinks he can overcome it himself or with such assistance as Mr. Khrushchev may be willing (or able) to extend. It is within Mr. Nehru's competence to tell Mr. Macmillan that no agreement among the Four can ensure world peace as long as China with her 600 or 700 million people is left alone. Even with so-called conventional arms, this mass of humanity would constitute a formidable prospect—and not for India alone.

But Mr. Nehru is a vain man in some ways; and he may be as cagey about China at the Commonwealth Conference as he usually is in India. And he may come back from London without doing the one thing he could do, which is to impress upon the world outside that not Russia nor Communism but China represents the biggest threat to world peace. This would be letting a fellow Asian down, and in Mr. Nehru's heart the vague concept of a united Asia still occupies a large place. That Chinese forces occupy a large area of India worries him, no doubt, but ideas have always appealed to him as more interesting than reality. This may well be the tragedy of Mr. Nehru—and of India.

India,
May 1960.

PAKISTAN

THE COMITY OF ISLAM

EVER since the present régime assumed power in Pakistan it has made constant and earnest endeavours to improve its international relations. They have proved fruitful in at least two instances. Today there is a perceptible change for the better in the climate between Pakistan and India, although in the absence of any prospect of a settlement of the Kashmir issue the *sine qua non* for a more abiding and meaningful improvement is still lacking. The other instance is that of the U.A.R.

When Mr. Habib-ur-Rahman undertook his mission to Cairo in November 1958, few could have imagined that in the short space of eighteen months relations between the two countries could be what they are now. Judging from the popular and widespread enthusiasm that President Nasser's visit evoked in Pakistan, an outside observer could have hardly believed that there ever existed any differences between the two countries. The gaily decorated streets of Karachi, Dacca, Lahore and Peshawar, the atmosphere of festivity and Islamic brotherhood and laudatory newspaper articles and editorials tended to confirm such an impression.

However, leaving the popular reaction aside, there can be no manner of doubt that President Nasser's visit was more than an expected success. The ice between the two countries has melted and the prospects of a broad-based co-operation between them are distinctly reasonable. President Ayub will now pay a return visit to Cairo this year. There is the welcome news that President Soekarno of Indonesia and President Ayub have helped to arrange an exchange of visits between the Prime Minister of Turkey, Mr. Adnan Menderes, and the U.A.R. President. Moreover a Pakistan-U.A.R. trade agreement was signed during Nasser's stay in this country. It provides for the most-favoured-nation treatment of the signatory countries. The U.A.R. Government have already appointed a Trade Commissioner in Pakistan, and a Trade Officer may soon join the Pakistani Embassy at Cairo.

In a speech in Lahore on April 13 President Nasser said that as a result of the discussions he had in Pakistan he was convinced that "there are no more artificial barriers between us and we are much closer to each other than ever before". Two days later he expressed his further conviction that Pakistan and the U.A.R. would collaborate with each other as close friends in future.

Even ordinarily such expressions of friendliness from the Head of a State have their own importance. In the context of Pakistan-U.A.R. relationship they are quite significant. They concede the principle that there can be good relations between a country which may have entered into defensive alliances and a country which avowedly follows a non-alignment policy. Pakistan has all along repeatedly made it clear that her membership of the CENTO and the SEATO is solely for defensive purposes and they do not constitute a barrier for her against establishing friendly relations with other countries.

Nevertheless it was widely assumed that Pakistan's membership of these pacts came in the way of her having closer relations with the U.A.R. Events have now proved how groundless such assumptions can be.

The joint communiqué issued after the conclusion of talks between President Ayub and President Nasser clearly indicates international issues on which there is a good scope for concerted action between the two countries. Two such important issues are those of Algeria and Palestine. They "reiterated their view that the question of Palestine should be resolved in keeping with the principles of the United Nations and the principle unanimously adopted by the Afro-Asian conference at Bandung". They expressed "their concern over the situation in Algeria" and upheld the right of the Algerian people to self-determination. The two Presidents "deplored the racial discrimination practised by certain countries in Africa which is not only unjust and degrading but also carries within itself the seed of discord and turmoil". They welcomed the emergence of newly independent States in Africa, as also the efforts of great powers to seek a relaxation of international tensions. Finally, they expressed their pleasure and satisfaction at the ever-increasing ties of cordial friendship between Pakistan and the U.A.R. They declared that "this friendship and co-operation is inspired not only by the Islamic bonds of brotherhood which unite the two countries, but is also born of identity of purpose and objectives, a common desire to promote peace and well being not only in their own areas but throughout the world".

The idea of a Muslim block has ever given an air of unreality to the approach of Muslims to national and international issues. As such, an important offshoot of the Ayub-Nasser talks has been to show that the creation of such a block is hardly likely to promote the cause of international peace. Undoubtedly the two countries are all for co-operation and unity amongst Muslim countries. At his press conference in Lahore on April 14, Nasser had suggested the holding of a Muslim congress every year to discuss trade and other problems between them. This, he said, would help to bring about better understanding and solidarity among Muslims the world over. A day earlier he had said: "Islam binds us in spiritual bonds and expects us to come to the rescue of one another." In a similar strain he said: "Islam is a religion of peace, love and friendship and by working on the principles of Islamic ideology we can unite the whole Muslim world." Moreover the joint communiqué itself refers to the "Islamic bonds of brotherhood" which unite Pakistan and the U.A.R. Nevertheless both the Presidents have equally made it clear that the formation of an Islamic block will lead to further problems.

At the same press conference at which Nasser had advocated an annual Muslim congress, he observed: "I do not want to use Islam in international politics." He said that the emergence of a Muslim block would lead to the creation of many other blocks.

On April 23 President Ayub told journalists that he had exchanged views with President Nasser on the subject of an Islamic block and they thought that such a block might create more problems. Expressing Pakistan's great regard and "lot of goodwill" for Muslim countries, Ayub said that it was

his desire that Muslim countries should resolve their differences, meet as good friends and help each other in their difficulties.

"Muslim unity by all means, but no Muslim block," is perhaps a most appropriate summing up of the views of the two Presidents. It is indeed a justifiable hope that such categorical pronouncements may help to eliminate that excessive emotionalism which the idea of an Islamic block so consistently aroused amongst the Muslim people, and which made them look at things through coloured glasses.

An Offer of Mediation

ONE more aspect of President Nasser's needs some attention. Both in India and Pakistan he offered his good offices to resolve the Kashmir issue, which, he said, "was creating difficulties and trouble in both countries". He made the plea that the "Bandung spirit should govern the two countries towards the solution of this problem." At his press conference on April 14, President Nasser evaded a reply when asked whether he supported the right of self-determination of the people of Kashmir. He said: "I cannot go into details, and if I do so I won't be able to use my good offices for resolving this issue." The U.A.R. President, however, could not be unaware that the Bandung conference specifically recognized the right of peoples to self-determination.

Whatever may be the significance of the good offices offer, it has further illuminated the obduracy of the Indian stand on this grave problem. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad, Premier of the Indian-occupied Kashmir, summarily rejected the offer. He said that "there is no Kashmir problem now" and the dispute has been "settled" once and for all. Mr. Bakhshi might please himself by arriving at such a conclusion, but its fallacy has once again been exposed—this time by the Nasser offer.

For her part Pakistan has accepted the offer, just as she had accepted previous offers of conciliation or mediation, including those which came from Commonwealth Premiers, the United Nations and other impartial quarters. Not only that Pakistan has now gone to the extent of showing her readiness to explore other avenues to a peaceful solution of this problem. Hitherto she had laid particular stress on a free and impartial plebiscite as the only means of resolving this issue. However, in a recent interview with the Special Correspondent of the *New York Herald Tribune*, President Ayub made a significant observation. Having been asked "does Pakistan still insist on a plebiscite as a condition to a settlement?", the Pakistani President was quoted as saying: "If we are shown any other sensible suggestion we are ready to look at it." He added: "There are three parties to the dispute (India, Pakistan and the people of Kashmir). Let us get together."

Mr. Nehru has gone out of his way to hold talks with the Chinese Premier, Mr. Chou En-lai. Indeed not long ago he was willing to surrender Ladakh in return for Chinese concession in the N.E.F.A. regardless of the fact that it was an integral part of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. On the other hand he has shown little inclination to meet President Ayub to discuss the Kashmir issue and there are no indications whatever that he will be in any

accommodating mood when he meets the Pakistani President at the forthcoming Commonwealth Premiers' conference in London. This contrast in the approach of Mr. Nehru cannot but be disturbing to those who fervently hope for Indo-Pakistani amity and friendship.

On February 14 the elected members of the Basic Democracies went to the polls to express, through secret ballot, their confidence, or lack of it, in President Mohammad Ayub Khan. The following day the Election Commission announced that in a total of 78,521 votes cast, 75,084 were in the affirmative. The same evening President Ayub addressed the nation on a national hook-up of Radio Pakistan and said that it was obligatory on him to give the country a constitution and he very soon proposed to appoint a constitutional commission of eminent men "to put up their recommendations as soon as feasible and after consulting as many people as possible". He was of the view that what the country really needed was a constitution "which is democratic, which is easily understandable and workable, which is not too expensive to run, and above all, a constitution which enables us to live the life of good Muslims". The President realized that "this business of reflecting the spirit of Islam in statecraft is a delicate ambition, but I propose to attempt it with all the earnestness and intellectual honesty at my disposal". He said that the reforms and innovations introduced in the country had already paved the way for the type of constitution he had referred to, but "if the Constitutional Commission can come out with better and more workable ideas, I shall have no hesitation in changing my views. What I am after is to bring a constitution under which we can remain united and free, advance forward, keep strong and be true to our faith."

On February 16 he took the oath of office as the first elected President of Pakistan and announced the appointment of an eleven-member Constitutional Commission, headed by Justice Shahabuddin and consisting of an equal number of representatives from both wings of the country.

Few could have dared hope, when martial law was declared in Pakistan, that the country's new rulers would so expeditiously fulfil the promises which they made to the nation. In a broadcast on the morrow of the revolution Field-Marshal Ayub said: "When the time comes your opinion will be fully asked. When that will be events alone can tell. Meanwhile we have to put this mess right and put the country on an even keel." It was a remarkably bold statement, for military leaders are not known either to seek or respect public opinion.

Space forbids a full and detailed discussion of the importance of the President's pronouncements on the future constitution of Pakistan. That may be possible in the near future when the Constitutional Commission has completed its deliberations. Meanwhile it is a cause for satisfaction that the way has now been paved for a speedy reaffirmation of the sovereignty of the people.

Pakistan,
May 1960.

CANADA

LITTLE LEGISLATION ACHIEVED

THE Federal Parliament of Canada adjourned for its Easter recess with only a modest record of accomplishment to its credit. It has only passed two measures of any importance, Bills which gave the vote in Federal elections to the Indians and authorized special financial relief to western farmers who had been unable to complete the harvesting of their grain because of the premature arrival of winter. So the greater part of the sessional program of legislation remains to be dealt with and only a fraction of the departmental estimates have been tackled. From the start of the session both of the parties in opposition resorted to the strategy of harassing Ministers with a daily barrage of written and oral questions. Prime Minister Diefenbaker in his exasperation accused them of deliberate waste of Parliament's time and threatened that, unless they mended their ways and facilitated progress with business, he would wind up the session with its business unfinished and summon the members back in the autumn to complete it. The retort of his opponents was that the pronouncements of Ministers about their policies had been so vague and unsatisfactory that they had been compelled to spend time, which they would have preferred to use for other purposes, in extracting from the Cabinet information about their ideas and plans.

Moreover the Government's management of the House of Commons has been poor. Mr. Howard Green, who was its deputy leader before he became Secretary for External Affairs, was an experienced and adroit parliamentarian and a good-natured man, who enjoyed such respect and affection among the Opposition that they usually facilitated his plans for the disposal of business. But his successor, Mr. Churchill, the Minister of Trade and Commerce, is by contrast a clumsy tactician, who by his self-assurance and outbursts of petulance often irritates the Opposition and drives them to adopt an obstructive attitude.

Furthermore, two unfortunate features of the session have been excessive absenteeism and a deplorable decline in parliamentary manners. With the Government commanding an unwieldy majority in the House of Commons, too many of its supporters from Central Canada have felt free to depart regularly for long week-ends in their homes; as a consequence the attendance, even at important debates, has often been absurdly thin. Then the last election brought into the House a large contingent of political novices, with a parochial outlook which makes them insensitive to the amenities of parliamentary life. As a result there have been too many long exchanges of petty backchat across the floor of the House and they have frequently degenerated into bouts of unseemly rowdiness, which the Speaker seemed at times very slow to repress.

The interventions of the Prime Minister in debate were his least effective since he took office. He only delivered two major speeches, and for each of

them he adopted the same tactical manoeuvre of delaying until the Leader of the Opposition had spoken on the subject before the House and then expatiating upon it and other themes and announcing new policies or changes in old ones. One result of his lassitude was that his colleagues were less overshadowed by him and some of them enhanced their reputations as parliamentarians, but the inadequacies of the French-Canadian contingent in the Cabinet were again apparent. On the other side of the House Mr. Pearson made further progress in finding his feet as Leader of the Opposition. He showed greater deftness than in previous sessions in countering the thrusts of the Prime Minister in their exchanges, which were often sharp, and he developed his arraignments of ministerial policies in well-phrased, logical speeches. He was at his best in analyses of the problems under consideration, but he was very chary about expounding his own solutions for them and was usually content with prescriptions of studies, conferences and committees for exploring them. He secured valuable support from three former Ministers, Messrs. Martin, Pickersgill and Chevrier, and several young French-Canadian Liberals showed promise as parliamentarians, but the aggregate debating strength of the Liberal Party was again revealed as regrettably weak.

The C.C.F. continued to set an example in industry to the other parties, and its leader, Mr. Hazen Argue, gave it a vigorous lead in speeches in which the constant theme was that the two senior parties were wedded to a system of outmoded free enterprise and that only planning of the economy on Socialist lines could guarantee the Canadian people sustained and well-diffused prosperity. Mr. D. M. Fisker, another Socialist, confirmed by speeches which were much more stimulating than the average the impression that he was the ablest and most interesting recruit sent to Ottawa by the elections of 1957 and 1958; it is generally regretted that his experiences in Parliament have given him a sense of frustration, which has made him decide not to seek re-election. The House was at its best in a two-day debate on the resolution of a Tory backbencher, Mr. Frank McGee, for the abolition of capital punishment. The Cabinet adopted an attitude of neutrality and able presentations of the cases for and against abolition from backbenchers on both sides of the House revealed that if a vote were taken there would be a decisive majority against abolition.

The Budget

THE Federal Budget, which Mr. Fleming, the Minister of Finance, presented on March 31, showed a national balance sheet for the fiscal year 1959-60 which is a distinct improvement upon its predecessor. A rise of 6 per cent in the value of gross national production in 1960 to the record high figure of 34,600 million dollars had raised the yield of the Federal revenues to 5,301 million dollars, which was 34 million dollars above the forecast made in the last Budget speech and 546.3 millions or 12 per cent higher than the comparable figure for 1958-59, 4,754.7 million dollars. However, total expenditures at 5,707 as compared with 5,364 millions had been 47 millions in excess of the forecast, and the result was a deficit of 405 million dollars, which was roughly 12 millions higher than the forecast of 393 millions.

This would have been nearly 600 million dollars if 190 million dollars of the vote allotted to the program of defense had not been left unspent; but the total outlays for defense still formed 27 per cent of the whole expenditures. The greatest contributor to the rise in the revenues was an increase in the collections of personal income tax by 201 million dollars to a total of 1,555.5 millions, but heavier borrowings and higher interest rates had raised the debt charges by 137 million dollars.

For the fiscal year 1960-61, which began on April 1, Mr. Fleming framed his Budget on the assumption that during 1960 the value of gross national production would rise at the same rate as in 1959—6 per cent—and that this gain would augment the yield of the Federal revenues by 591 million dollars during the fiscal year. So he estimated his prospective revenues at 5,892 million dollars and the estimates tabled in Parliament called for expenditures totalling 5,880 million dollars. He accordingly forecast a surplus of 12 million dollars for the current fiscal year, but it will be a surprise if before the end of the session the usual crop of supplementary estimates does not make its realization impossible.

The Budget proposed only minor changes in the existing structure of taxation. Some adjustments in the personal income tax and death duties will benefit widows, and the maximum limit of deductions for medical expenses in the computation of income tax is raised from 2,000 to 3,000 dollars. A few more articles are to be exempted from the general sales tax, but its basic rate and the scales of the excise taxes and duties and the death duties are not altered. Authority is sought to raise the grants paid by the Federal Treasury to the Provinces as rentals for taxation by 125.2 million dollars to a total of 1,300.9 millions, but this increase is regarded as inadequate by several provincial ministries. Provision is also made for increases, operative on April 1, in the salaries of some 50,000 Federal civil servants, mostly belonging to the lower ranks, which will cost the Treasury about 15 million dollars per annum.

A Mixed Reception

AT the close of the debate on the Budget there was a sharp controversial exchange between Mr. Pearson and Mr. Fleming. The former contended that, as the result of the misguided policies of the Diefenbaker Ministry, Canada was headed for its fourth and most serious depression since the end of World War II in a weakened financial position with a hard core of chronic unemployment, and Mr. Fleming replied that the Opposition had not produced any alternative policies and that "they are lost in the gloom of their own creation". Mr. Churchill, for the Government, also dismissed as needlessly alarmist a warning given by Mr. Coyne, the Governor of the Bank of Canada, in his annual report on its operations in 1959, that the Canadian people were living beyond their means and courting serious trouble by encouraging expansion of their economy, which could not be financed out of their own resources and involved borrowings abroad on a dangerous scale. Today there are ominous signs that the apprehensions of Mr. Pearson and Mr. Coyne may prove justified. The latest official data about employment showed that unemployment, which normally after rising in the winter begins

to decline in March, has been increasing to such a degree that on March 19 9.1 per cent of Canada's total labor force were out of work and seeking jobs. Moreover, some of the important indices of economic activity have been sagging: the steel plants are only operating at 80 per cent of their capacity and various other manufacturers are finding it difficult to hold their share of the domestic market against the mounting competition of foreign imports. So the Opposition will return after the recess with fresh ammunition for attacks upon the Government.

Throughout the session the policy of the Government about defense has been under constant fire by the parties in opposition. In the fiscal year 1959-60 the expenditures for defense totalled 1,528 million dollars, which was 6 per cent higher than the comparable figure for the year 1958-59; but the estimates for the current fiscal year have risen to 1,593 million dollars. Since the Korean war started a program of rearmament in 1950 Canada has spent about 15 billion* dollars upon her defenses and the critics of the Government, who include some distinguished generals, now in retirement, allege that there is precious little to show for the huge outlays.

The Government incurred great unpopularity in Toronto and its environs two years ago when it decided to scrap its program for the construction of a large fleet of Avro-Arrow planes and to rely mainly upon the "Bomarc B." missile for the defense of Canada against aerial attack. This missile is an American invention, and an arrangement was made with the Government of the United States that it would supply Canada with "Bomarc B." missiles and help to pay for the installation of two launching sites for them on Canadian soil at North Bay in Ontario and Mt. Laurier in Quebec; towards the estimated cost of this rearmament—121 million dollars—Canada was only asked to contribute 25 million dollars.

But a series of failures of attempts to launch "Bomarc B." missiles at Cape Canaveral in Florida aroused doubts about its efficacy on both sides of the border. The Diefenbaker Ministry was faced by recurring demands from the Opposition that it should reverse its decision to rely upon a weapon of such dubious value. Now General Pearkes, the Minister for National Defense, is a valiant old soldier who hates to admit that his judgment has ever been wrong and he has conducted a stubborn defense of the Bomarc missile and tried to fend off the attacks of the Opposition by citing assurances from high American authorities like Mr. Thomas Gates, the Secretary for Defense at Washington, that the failures of the missile had been due to minor technical defects, which could be remedied, and that the United States Government still retained faith in it and had no intention of discarding it. The defense offered by General Pearkes was weakened when the House of Representatives at Washington cut the appropriation for the Bomarc from 421 to 50 million dollars. But he was entitled to a moment of jubilation when on April 15 an announcement was made that the eighth launching of a Bomarc had proved successful. However it now transpires that its success was partial, for it only travelled 170 miles instead of the 500 miles which is its estimated range. Fresh ammunition was supplied to the Opposition at Ottawa when

* In the American sense of 1,000 millions.

a ninth launching proved a complete failure and Senator Chavez, the chairman of the Appropriations Committee of the American Senate, declared publicly that "we ought to respect Canada and give her the best we have and not something that is not good enough for us". Another setback for General Pearkes is the decision of the British Government to abandon the Blue Streak missile because the fixed ground sites for launching it are hopelessly vulnerable to aerial attack, for the Bomarc sites in Canada will be equally vulnerable. So General Pearkes finds himself in a very difficult quandary and there are indications that confidence in the Bomarc has been shaken at Ottawa because only 300,000 dollars have been spent on the site at North Bay and options taken on land for the site at Mt. Laurier have not been exercised.

Parliamentary Detachments

THE problem of the responsibility of the Federal Parliament of Canada for granting divorces has emerged this session to hamper normal progress with its business and embarrass the Diefenbaker Ministry. Eight of Canada's ten Provinces have law courts possessing jurisdiction over divorces, but Quebec and Newfoundland lack them and mismatched residents of these Provinces who want to sever their matrimonial ties are compelled to submit petitions for relief to Parliament. The work of hearing the evidence in these divorces has always been undertaken by a special divorce committee of the Senate, whose membership invariably contains a quota of experienced lawyers, and its decisions are embodied in private Bills. For half a century after Confederation the burden involved in handling these divorce cases was not heavy, because in many years not more than a score of petitions were submitted. But a progressive increase, very marked in recent years, has brought the number of applications for divorce up to the record figure of 380 this session and the resulting heavier load of work has become a subject of complaint by those who have to shoulder it.

In the past, when the divorce Bills have been submitted to the Senate in full session, they have usually been passed through all their stages without any discussion and sent to the Commons. In the Lower House most of them have received similar treatment and they were often railroaded through each stage in batches of twenty or thirty. Occasionally a member in one of the Houses, who had a special interest in a divorce case, would protest that the evidence had been "faked" and did not justify a verdict for the petitioner, and in some recent years a group of members of the C.C.F. held up the passage of divorce bills for the avowed purpose of exposing the defects of an arrangement that forced Parliament to undertake the functions of a divorce court; but the protestants never engaged in a sustained filibuster. Their viewpoint had the sympathy of a considerable number of members of both Houses, especially of the Roman Catholics, who were always averse from assuming any responsibility for granting divorces because their religion does not countenance them. There was also widespread support for it among the general public. But the system of parliamentary divorces seemed destined for indefinite survival until early in this session two young members of the

C.C.F., Mr. Arnold Peters and Mr. Frank Howard, started a determined campaign for its abolition.

Only two evening hours each week are allotted to private members' Bills in the House of Commons, and it has been a simple matter for Messrs. Peters and Howard to block the progress of divorce Bills. They have often contrived to occupy a whole hour in the dissection of a single Bill without allowing it to come to a vote. They analyse the evidence given before the Senate's committee on divorce with scrupulous care, question dubious features of it and regale the House with quotations of spicy passages dealing with the domestic battles of warring spouses and their infidelities. Word soon got round Ottawa that the revelations of the two campaigners provided a lively form of evening entertainment, with the result that when they are in action the galleries of the Commons are packed with a keenly interested audience and the Speaker has felt it advisable to protect the innocence of the young page boys of the House by banishing them from the floor until the discussion of more decorous subjects is resumed.

So far Messrs. Peters and Howard have only permitted about twenty Bills for divorce to pass out of 275 which have reached the Commons from the Senate, and they have proclaimed their intention to maintain their blockade for the rest of the session and during future sessions. They remain indifferent to charges that they are preventing Parliament from performing a task assigned to it by the Constitution, to the complaints of other sponsors of private Bills, who can make no headway with them, and to the lamentations of unhappy couples, who see their hopes of an early severance of their present matrimonial ties vanishing.

Now Mr. Peters and Mr. Howard are two vigorous young men, who are competent speakers, and they know that they have numerous sympathizers in both Houses of Parliament, including Mr. Robert McGleave, the Liberal member who has charge of the divorce bills, and among influential newspapers and the public. No effective check upon their filibuster is available and the impression is growing that if they persevere with it, they can force the Government to take some action to end the impasse. Two alternative plans for divesting Parliament of responsibility for dealing with divorce cases from Quebec and Newfoundland are suggested. It could be transferred to the existing Exchequer Court, whose membership would have to be enlarged, or a Federal divorce court could be established; but the legislation required for either change would certainly produce a demand for including in it provisions that would make other grounds than adultery causes for divorce. Such a proposal would be obnoxious to the Roman Catholic Church and its adherents in Parliament. So Messrs. Peters and Howard have faced the Diefenbaker Ministry with a thorny problem.

European Trading Blocks

THE Canadian people and their Government have been following with keen interest and some anxiety the developments in Western Europe which have created two rival trading blocks, the Inner Six or Common Market group and the Outer Seven. Both Canada and the United States after

the end of World War II gave generous assistance for the economic rehabilitation of the nations now adhering to these blocks; and on principle they are sympathetic to any plans that would stimulate their prosperity and enlarge their demand for the exports of North America. Before the conference in Paris about the future of the O.E.E.C. the Governments of Canada and the United States held consultations to pave the way for co-operation at this meeting, which bore some fruits; but only the United States has a representative on the committee of four which was appointed to investigate and report upon the problems created by the emergence of the new trading blocks.

There was some surprise at Ottawa over the announcement from Washington after the visit of Chancellor Adenauer that the United States was sympathetic to the plans of the Common Market group, because the Canadian Government is seriously concerned about a plan which the economic experts of this group are reported to be working out for the encouragement of the production of grain within their territories and the reduction of imports of foodstuffs by tariffs. If the Common Market countries were to set a price for wheat somewhere between the French price (which, although higher than the price of imported Canadian wheat, is lower than the German price) and the German price, which is high, and the general tariff of the group were raised to a level which would be a stiff barrier to imports of Canadian wheat, there are forebodings in Ottawa that a substantial increase in the acreage allotted to wheat in France would follow and that Canada would be relegated to the rôle of marginal supplier of wheat to this block of countries. Another danger sensed is that Canada's exports may suffer from arrangements made by the Common Market group for easy access to their market for raw materials from countries in Africa which after gaining political independence would retain close economic ties with the European nations that formerly controlled them. The Canadian Government has less anxiety about the plans of the Outer Seven countries, because it sees convincing evidence that under British influence their economic policies have the aim of lowering tariff barriers and not raising them.

There is also some disquiet in Ottawa about indications that Chancellor Adenauer and the two chief architects of the Common Market block, M. Jean Moch and Herr Walter Hallstein, believe that economic unity will be the parent of political unity and have as their ultimate objective a Federal Union of Western Europe. It is noted that influential figures in Britain continue to argue that Britain for her own economic salvation cannot afford to stand aloof from the Common Market block. But she could hardly expect to gain admission to it without agreeing to contract out of the system of trade preferences between the partners of the Commonwealth, and such a move would impair her value to Canada as a customer. There are also apprehensions that the economic fissures which now divide Western Europe, if they are not healed, could become political cleavages and result in the dissolution of the NATO alliance, which is a cornerstone of Canada's foreign policy.

Canada,

May 1960.

SOUTH AFRICA

THE BUDGET

DR. DÖNGES presented his second budget on March 2. It is one of the most interesting of recent years, partly because of changes introduced into the actual tax system and partly because of the statements of policy with which they were introduced.

In the first place, this budget makes exceptional concessions in respect of some of the outlays of businesses, particularly corporate businesses. A new departure is to enable companies to support university research in pure and applied science and to deduct donations so made from their income liable to tax, up to a limit of one per cent of their taxable income. It is estimated that £1,000,000 may be presented, with a loss in tax of £300,000 during 1960-61. An interesting feature of the machinery evolved for administering this concession is that 75 per cent of the donations are to go to the university and to the particular research which the donor nominates, but that 25 per cent may be allocated amongst other universities and research projects at the discretion of the Minister of Education, Arts and Science, on the advice of the universities advisory committee. This is an ingenious device. Virtually it adds to company donations in aid of scientific research a State contribution of between 30 per cent and 45 per cent (depending on which rate of company tax is chargeable), yet it leaves the State free to choose its own beneficiaries for the greater part of the State's contribution.

The other main concession in favour of business outlays is not so much ingenious as blunt. In manufacturing industry the Minister proposed to allow firms to deduct from taxable income 15 per cent of the cost of plant and machinery brought into use after the budget date and 10 per cent of the cost of new buildings or improvements to new or old buildings begun after that date. Since these investment allowances are to be additional to existing provision for accelerated initial depreciation allowances, it means that no less than 45 per cent of the cost of a capital outlay on machinery may be deductible from taxable income in the tax year in which it is undertaken, namely 20 per cent initial allowance, 10 per cent wear and tear allowance and now an additional 15 per cent investment allowance. New hotels are also to benefit from a 10 per cent investment allowance and a 2 per cent initial depreciation allowance.

It is of some interest that in explaining the reasons for this step the Minister of Finance for the first time, it is believed, based his policy upon the view that economic fluctuations are linked with the operation of what have come to be known as the principles of "the multiplier" and of the "acceleration principle of derived demand". And, in terms of the same jargon, the Minister proposes to raise the "marginal efficiency of capital" in manufacture by reducing the cost of any given investment in factories or machinery.

Ministerial acceptance of this analysis seems quite clear in his own statement:

A slackening in the tempo of the economy, from whatever cause, usually resulted in less optimistic expectations of turnover and profits, and a reduced willingness on the part of manufacturers and investors to risk further capital outlay. This unwillingness, in its turn, tended to intensify the slackness in the economy and might lead to a further postponement of development plans. Until this circle was broken, there could be no marked revival of the economy as a whole.

Thus he brought forward the investment allowances to provide

the spark that would induce hesitant investors to commence at once with the execution of development plans which might otherwise have remained in abeyance for some time.

This measure to stimulate the economy by way of encouraging investment outlays is in consonance with Dr. Dönges's acceptance of the principle—again, it is believed, the first time it has been explicitly enunciated by one of the Union's ministers of finance, who have tended to be rather conservative in these matters—that the budget is not merely a device for providing whatever funds are needed to finance government services but, above all, a means of influencing the development of the economy so as to reduce fluctuations in its activity. To quote Dr. Dönges's own expressive words:

existing economic conditions should mould the budget as much as the budget, in its turn, would influence the country's economy in the future. It was in the judicious application of the accelerator or the brake, as conditions might require, that a flexible fiscal and monetary policy found expression in the budget.

It would be well to remember, however, that the successful application of this policy requires skill and judgment (perhaps founded on knowledge more complete and more up to date than the Union's economic statistics can yet provide). While at present pushing his foot rather hard down on the accelerator, Dr. Dönges has found it necessary, even while introducing his investment allowances, to give warning that, if they prove too successful, he will have to apply the brake. "Investment allowances," he said, "by their very nature, formed part and parcel of a flexible fiscal policy, and should not, therefore, be regarded as permanent measures." The present rates would apply only until the close of the tax year ending in June 1961.

There is a danger inherent in this otherwise desirable procedure, and that is the introduction of yet another element of uncertainty into the expectations of business men. In their investment planning they will have to take into account that the size of the tax allowances will rarely be known for more than 15 months ahead, and perhaps not always for so long. Unless skilfully and not too ambitiously administered, such powerful instruments as massive investment allowances may have an opposite effect from what is intended—the effect of bunching investment together and of exaggerating instead of smoothing out fluctuations in economic activity.

Another measure to stimulate investment is the abolition of the tax upon the undistributed profits of public (though not of private) companies.

Consolidation of Super-tax

IN the second place the 1960-61 budget is of exceptional interest because it introduces a fundamental modification of the Union's traditional two-tier system of normal tax and super-tax. These are to be consolidated.

A system of block rates is now to be introduced into the taxation of individuals, combining the present normal and super-tax rates (together with the existing 15 per cent surcharge). Under the old system, income from dividends, which was taxed at flat rates in the hands of the companies, was exempt from normal tax but subject to super-tax. Under the new system, income from dividends is to be taxed in the hands of the recipients, as well as via company income tax, but a variable proportion is to be exempt. Thus taxpayers with an income of £2,300 will be exempt from individual income tax upon one-third of their dividends. Taxpayers with a total income of £1,300 will be exempt from tax upon the whole of the dividend portion.

It would require much detailed study and information to pronounce upon the changes which will be introduced into the distribution of the burden of taxation by these alterations. The Minister has stated that his intention is to maintain a rough equality of taxation as compared with the present system in the case of the lower and the upper levels of income, but to relieve both the total burden and the still abrupt and uneven progression which exists in the £2,300 to £5,000 income levels. However, though in some cases the new system is likely to discriminate in favour of the recipient of investment income, in others it may introduce a rather closer approximation to the United Kingdom system of discriminating in favour of "earned" income as against income from dividends. Much depends upon the way in which an individual taxpayer's income is made up of the components which are at present subject to both normal and super-tax or to super-tax alone.

The Treasury estimate of the net effect of the change in the ensuing year is, however, a drop in revenue of £1.6 million, which would be increased by a 5 per cent discount to all taxpayers, at a further cost to the exchequer of £2.4 million. Two asides in the unusually informative budget speech are worth noting—the first that the new simplified tax structure should ease the transition to a decimal coinage in 1961 and the second that it should remove administrative difficulties standing in the way of a "pay-as-you-earn" system.

Dr. Dönges therefore hopes to stimulate the economy by general tax concessions as well as by special treatment for capital outlays.

The broad structure of his budget is as follows. The year 1959-60 is expected to close with a surplus of £14 million upon revenue account, which will be available towards the loan programme for 1960-61. Since the Minister had last year budgeted for a transfer of £37 million from revenue to capital account, this means that no less than £51 million will have been raised for State capital expenditure out of revenue in 1959-60. For the ensuing year a smaller loan programme of £138 million, it is hoped, can be financed more

easily and the budgeted contribution from revenue is being halved to £18.5 million.

As a first result, the Minister has decided to drop the compulsory saving levy and to discontinue the sale of tax-free 5 per cent five-year bonds after March 31, 1960. It is at least conceivable that the somewhat easier position upon capital account is an excuse rather than an actual motive for the latter decision. The privilege of investing up to £10,000 for each member of a family in tax-free bonds was obviously of chief benefit to the richest fringe of taxpayers, paying at the highest marginal rates, and it seems likely that it would prove essentially a once-for-all source of funds for the Government once this group of people had acquired their full quotas.

As a second result, Dr. Dönges has had more scope for concessions on both sides of his revenue budget. A million pounds is to be made available for research and for sales promotion oversea, divided equally between the wine and tobacco industries. An increase of more than £2 million is estimated for Bantu administration and for various forms of development for the African population; indeed, if subsidies to cover losses on passenger transport services are counted in, the increase is over £4 million. Oddly enough, this is one of the few items on which Dr. Dönges was not quite clear and explicit. Nearly £2 million is to improve the lot of old-age and other pensioners. Over £800,000 is to go to the Transvaal provincial administration to rectify an anomaly in the subsidy system.

Dr. Dönges had some not entirely convincing remarks to make about our investment standing oversea. Having mentioned how South Africa's balance of payments on current account had yielded a surplus of £70 million in 1959 (compared with a deficit of like amount in 1958), he explained, on the other hand, that the balance of payments on capital account showed a deficit of £30 million, of which £15 million represented a net outflow of private capital. Yet there was, he asserted, at least a £12 million investment of outside private capital in Union enterprises, which was more than offset by a repatriation of South African securities, previously held oversea, to an extent of £20 million of identifiable transfers.

It is all very well to comment that this should give cause for satisfaction rather than disappointment. The fact remains that there were willing sellers of South African securities oversea at lower prices than in previous years and that repatriation was at most an index that local investors did not discount the value of these shares to the same extent as investors abroad who were anxious, even at a loss, to lighten their portfolios of South African shares. Repatriation of stock-exchange securities held oversea may be a sign of greater economic and financial maturity. But it may be a danger signal; a reminder that credit means trust, and that the world outside is increasingly coming to mistrust our ability to manage our politics sensibly and fairly.

South Africa,
May 1960.

AUSTRALIA

AUSTRALIA IN THE ANTARCTIC

THE conclusion of the twelve-Power Antarctic Treaty last December, of which Australia was one of the signatories, has posed a dilemma for this country. Australia has had considerable pretensions in the Antarctic, in keeping with the prominent part that men such as Sir Douglas Mawson have played in the earlier stages of exploration. But in the new era of scientific research which has now begun, it seems that a much greater and more costly effort will be needed to substantiate those pretensions.

Australia has claimed a territory of 2,470,000 square miles, which is not so very much smaller than the Australian home continent. The treaty neither confirms nor refutes such claims; they are merely put into cold storage for thirty years. It prohibits all military activity in Antarctica, and places heavy emphasis on scientific research, with freedom of access by all parties to all parts of the continent for peaceful purposes. It is clear that Australia cannot rest on any paper claim or record of past achievement if it is to preserve a position of pre-eminence in the territory of its choice; it must give convincing proof, over the years, of "effective occupation", and today this means, above all, more and more research and survey work in many fields. This has led to some questioning. Is Australia justified in committing increasing resources to the Antarctic, when so much has to be done at home, for example, in Northern Australia, and in New Guinea?

The Antarctic offers rich scope for research in many fields, but little prospect of significant economic return in the foreseeable future. At present, whaling is the only industry, and it is largely independent of the Antarctic mainland. Of most immediate interest to Australia is meteorology, since the Antarctic is the breeding-ground of the Australian weather, and its great ice-cone is the distributor of the winds which carry rain to much of the Australian continent. Research into the Antarctic wind systems, and establishment of more weather stations, would greatly improve weather forecasting and provide a basis for long-range forecasting, all of which could be of substantial value to rural industries in a country where the seasons are notoriously uncertain.

Weather stations would become essential if air-routes were established across the Polar region; but it cannot be assumed that such routes would bring any great gain to Australia. True, there would be a substantial saving of time in reaching South America, but Australia does little business there, and it is hard to foresee a large volume of air traffic.

Some day Antarctica may turn out to be a storehouse of valuable minerals; but who is to tell, while most of it is buried under ice thousands of feet thick? And if the minerals are indeed there, they would be enormously costly to extract under such conditions. The studies of marine life and ocean currents now being carried out, will doubtless be helpful eventually to Australian fisheries, but the material rewards are a long way off.

The scale of the Australian research and exploration has grown considerably in the last few years. Four bases are being maintained, and this year there are seventy-seven men on station. Their work includes research in geophysics, meteorology, biology, geomagnetism, physics of the ionosphere, glaciology and also general exploration and surveys. These posts are relieved during the short summer season, from December to March, by means of two ships, the *Magga Dan* and *Thala Dan*, which are under charter from a Danish firm which specializes in building and chartering such vessels for use in the ice. Although they have proved successful in operation, they are no longer fully adequate for Australian needs. More men have to be carried each year for the relief of the bases, and the stores increase both in total quantity and in the size of individual pieces of equipment, such as snow tractors. The ships set out last season crammed to capacity with men and equipment. They are just capable of doing the essential work of relief in the season—barring serious mishaps—and of little else. Much depends on ice conditions, and when all goes well two or three weeks of cruising and coastal survey may be accomplished—not much in a territory the size of this. This year the ice was favourable. After relieving Wilkes Base, the *Magga Dan* was the first ship to penetrate lower Vincennes Bay, and to effect a landing on the Davis Islands.

To maintain the present four bases effectively, Australia needs more specialized shipping capacity. To extend the work to any appreciable extent, more capacity is a *sine qua non*. The system of chartering has produced good results, but it has its inconveniences. The ships are used in northern waters during the Antarctic winter, and should one of them meet with an accident which caused it to be withdrawn from service the ensuing season's work could be completely disrupted. The possibility of Australia's owning and operating a much larger and faster ship for this service is being canvassed, though this would, of course, still leave most of the eggs in one basket. It would be an expensive undertaking, to which would have to be added the expense of manning and equipping more bases.

On the one hand, therefore, is a proper hesitation to embark on growing commitments for purposes that may not have so much economic advantage as development projects at home. On the other is a canny reluctance to give up too readily one of the few remaining unoccupied areas of the earth's surface, however useless it might appear to be at this moment to the hard-headed business man. After all, it is only a decade or two since most people were ready to write off the Sahara as useless. One may be permitted to hope that in this era of vigorous expansion Australia will not become inward-looking, and that the questing and venturesome spirit will not be confined to schemes of domestic betterment.

New Round of Wage Increases

AUSTRALIA's peculiar wage-fixing system has produced another round of substantial wage increments, which will inevitably have some adverse reactions on costs and prices. The background is an expanding economy, probably capable of absorbing some further increases in the wages bill.

Nevertheless, there is rather widespread criticism and apprehension over the recent wage decisions, and the Commonwealth Government takes a sufficiently serious view to intervene in proceedings before the Commission, in order to oppose a further increase in the basic wage.

The review of the basic wage by the Commission is now an annual affair, in place of former automatic cost-of-living adjustments based on the retail price index. In June 1959 the Commission awarded an increase of 15s. in the basic wage, making it £13. 16s. In 1954-55 it had been £11. 16s. (There are several basic wages applying in different States and to different categories of workers. The figures are cited as typical.) This decision was immediately followed by the "margins case", i.e. an application for revision of margins over and above the basic wage, paid to various trades in recognition of skill or special conditions. There are today hardly any wage-earners in Australia who do not receive some such margin. By tradition, the rates for certain skilled workers in the metal trades serve as a guide in fixing other rates, and the metal trades unions, supported by the Australian Council of Trades Unions, advanced a case based on economic grounds.

The last general revision of margins was in 1954, when the tribunal adopted the formula that margins should be two and a half times those prevailing before the war. In 1959 the applicants argued that on the one hand the purchasing power of the margins had shrunk, and on the other the capacity of industry to pay had improved. They asked for an increase in margins which, for example, would have raised that of a fitter from £3. 18s. to £6. 14s. and his total wage to £20. 10s. The Commission decided, without any very precise indication of how it arrived at the figure, that a 28 per cent increase would be appropriate. It did so after surveying various aspects of the national economy, such as the increase in employment, the improvement in rural industry and in export markets, the vigorous manufacturing development and the fact that average earnings had been rising somewhat faster than nominal wages. "We have looked at the increases which we propose to grant in the light of the submissions about economic stability", declared the Commission in its judgment. "We do not consider that such increases are so likely to affect that stability that the economy will be adversely affected." The Commission took into account the decrease in purchasing power since 1954, the increased capacity and productivity of industry and the basic wage decisions with their accompanying appraisals of the economy since 1954. The Commission then increased margins by an amount which somewhat exceeded that needed to compensate for the loss in purchasing power, on the grounds that wage-earners were entitled to share in the benefits of the industrial improvement.

The decision was immediately followed by adjustment of margins in other trades and categories, by Conciliation Commissioners, State tribunals and other wage-fixing authorities. Many workers in industry received the full 28 per cent. Then came the turn of salaried workers. The Full Arbitration Court in December raised the margins of some salaried workers by 20 per cent, as an interim measure only, because the applicants were also seeking fundamental changes in the structure of their award. About two-thirds of

the Commonwealth Public Service received 28 per cent, the percentage adjustment diminishing in the more senior ranks. The adjustment was carried right to the top, heads of departments getting an increment of £900 a year.

There was no clear consistent basis for all these decisions. In many instances the 28 per cent formula was modified or applied in a fairly rough and ready way to some assumed earlier standard. The decisions are something of a confused tangle of different interpretations by the Commission, by Conciliation Commissioners, by State tribunals and other authorities and by the parties to industrial negotiations. Such a sweeping extension of the metal trades award, which began the process, was not expected by the Commission itself. The President remarked in February that the metal trades margin had been applied almost universally in industry by acquiescence, in spite of the Commission's suggestion that its decision might have "limited application". This development marks a complete abandonment of the distinction which prevailed, until about a decade ago, between wages and salaries. The basic wage used to be the major wage element, with a super-added margin of the order of perhaps 25 per cent for the skilled man. But now salaries are also being divided into these two elements, with "margins" in some instances of many times the basic wage.

One of the most pointed criticisms came from the Prime Minister himself, referring to the increases granted to heads of Commonwealth departments:

These changes in salary, together with those previously announced, have been made unavoidable because of the new doctrine which appears to have been adopted, that the salary, even of a highly-paid executive, should be divided into the basic wage plus a margin, and that the margin should vary just as does the margin of a skilled tradesman such as a fitter and turner. We know of no other country in the world in which such a strange, and indeed dangerous conception applies. Should it become accepted as a settled doctrine, there may well be damaging consequences in Australia.

Given such a point of view, it was natural that the Government should impose a restraining hand. The margins decisions were followed by a fresh application for an increase in the basic wage; the metal trades unions asked that it be raised by 24s. and that in addition, quarterly cost-of-living adjustments be restored. The Government had abandoned its usual attitude of neutrality in these proceedings. It briefed counsel to tell the Commission that a further basic-wage increase would be wholly bad for the economy, and for all sections of the community including wage-earners. The margins decision made the second general wage rise in twelve months, and added nearly £100 million to the annual wage bill, and in the view of the Government the economy needed a respite. A further increase would create new pressure on prices, accentuate difficulties of many firms already handicapped by rising costs, cause the curtailment of plans for industrial expansion and investment, damage public finances and be burdensome for export producers.

Imports and Exports

ON February 21, 1960, the Prime Minister, Mr. R. G. Menzies, announced the virtual removal of the widespread controls on imports which had

been in force for almost exactly eight years since March 8, 1952. At that time a flood of imported goods, which suddenly became available after the temporary scarcities caused by the Korean war, seriously threatened Australia's balance of payments. Drastic measures were clearly necessary, but once imposed the quota restrictions were only slowly relaxed. Many local industries and some merchant houses were glad enough to bask in their shelter. The quota system not only restricted the volume of imports but also regulated their origin, dollar permits being confined to essential materials.

In August 1959 the Commonwealth Government abolished many of these irksome controls and greatly simplified the remainder, thus preparing the way for final abolition. With market competition once again operating freely the increase in the volume of imports is not likely to be excessive, but the Government hopes that it will restrain the tendency of local prices to rise. In the current trading year, which runs to June 30, imports at about £A950 million are expected slightly to exceed exports of about £A910 million (both figures denote f.o.b. value). A further considerable outgoing of £A200 million in "invisibles", principally ocean freights and insurance, is likely to be more than balanced by the inflow of investment capital. In addition to a number of small items, the diversity of which makes strange reading, a wide range of textiles has been kept subject to quota control and so does not share in the general relaxation of imports. This important exception once again draws attention to the dilemma confronting the Government in framing trade policy.

Difficulties of the Textile Industry

Several factors which aggravate the production costs of Australian industry—high labour costs, small home market and a high standard of living demanding a wide variety of products—bear most harshly on our textile industry. Generally speaking it is quite unable to engage in open competition against European or Asian suppliers. Yet the economic pressures towards cheap production in Hong Kong and Japan are such that even if by some unlikely means our textile production costs were drastically lowered a heavy duty would still be necessary to level out the difference. In the spirit, if not the letter, of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade it would be difficult to discriminate against Japan in the matter of tariffs on textiles. The unwanted result could easily be to discourage imports from Europe as well, besides imposing a severe price burden on the Australian market, which already faces worsening inflation. Even if this difficulty could be avoided there remains the fact that Japan is now Australia's second-best customer: high exports of wool and rising exports of wheat and beef mean that Japan will buy about £A125 million worth of Australian produce this year but will only sell us about £A40 million worth in return. In these circumstances, it is neither practicable nor reasonable to exclude Japanese goods from the Australian market. Some kind of compromise in the form of renewed quota restrictions will eventually be negotiated when the present three-year "gentle-

men's agreement" with Japan expires in June. The need to help a foreign customer at the expense of an important local industry is likely to recur more frequently as Australia strives to maintain her exports of primary produce and to expand exports of manufactured goods.

Dr. Evatt on the Bench

DR. H. V. EVATT was appointed Chief Justice of New South Wales in February 1960, and thereupon resigned from the Commonwealth Parliament and from his position as Leader of the Opposition. His appointment as Chief Justice had been forecast in the press months before and was preceded by a great deal of controversy as to its propriety. In general there was no criticism of his qualifications as a jurist. He had been a member of the High Court of Australia from 1930 to 1940 and in those years had established a reputation for wide learning and vigorous thought. Public comment on his latest appointment, during the months in which its likelihood was canvassed almost daily in the press, showed pretty general recognition of his qualifications for high judicial office. What stimulated public discussion was his unusual political record.

The main argument used by opponents of his appointment as Chief Justice of New South Wales was that the sole purpose of the proposal was to remove Dr. Evatt from his position as Leader of the Opposition and from politics where he had led the Australian Labour Party in a series of electoral defeats, had precipitated a split in the party and was thought to be one of the main reasons why the party had been kept out of office. It was argued by these opponents that it is improper for an appointment of this importance to be used by a party as a price to be paid to rid itself of an embarrassing leader.

Another point made was that Dr. Evatt had been the centre of bitter political dispute and controversy until the very eve of his appointment and that, although appointments from active political life could be justified and were not infrequent, this fact should not be allowed to permit the translation from turbulent politics to the first judicial post in the State of a person towards whom attitudes of strong current antipathy were widespread.

There was enough public controversy over these matters to show that the appointment was arousing unusually wide interest. Even the Labour Party, which rules in New South Wales, was reported to be divided on the question.

Once it is recognized that appointment to high judicial office is a matter for political decision by a government it is obvious that political factors, internally important to a party, may influence the outcome. If the appointee is properly qualified in every respect and is capable of finally eschewing politics in his new appointment, the political factors leading to it should not be kept in the forefront after it is made. This appears to have happened in New South Wales where the Bench and the profession have accepted the decision and extended all appropriate courtesies to the new Chief Justice.

Australia,
May 1960.

NEW ZEALAND

NELSON RAILWAY

WRITING of New Zealand, Lord Bryce commented that Mr. Seddon was the most astute of party managers and never hesitated to use government patronage to win support or buy off opposition.* Over fifty years have passed since the Seddon era, but there seems to have been little change in the political game. The Labour Government today holds office by a narrow margin and must work hard to retain it. Marginal electorates such as Nelson are the object of increasing attention as the election approaches. No date has been fixed for the election, but it must be held before the end of this year.

Supporters of Labour are not so evenly distributed through the country as those of National, as can be illustrated by reference to the last but one election of 1954. Of the votes polled by the two main parties for the 80 seats in the House, National polled 50.08 per cent to secure 45 seats and Labour polled 49.92 per cent to secure only 35 seats.† There may well be a stronger temptation for a Labour Government to embark on measures which produce a drift of some of its supporters towards marginal electorates, and of course constructional works are one good method of achieving this result.

Late in January the Prime Minister announced that a railway line would be built to connect Nelson with the South Island Main Trunk system at a cost of £10.5 million. This was in fulfilment of a promise made by the Labour Party during the last election—a promise that seemed to play a large part in its winning of the Nelson seat. Just before the last election the National Government had introduced a scheme, termed a “notional railway”. Under this scheme, which is still in operation, road transport operators are given a substantial subsidy to enable them to carry passengers and freight between the rail-points of Blenheim and Nelson, a distance of 73 miles by road, for the normal railway fares and charges. On the latest figures available it seems that this scheme is costing Government about £100,000 a year.

The decision has been strongly attacked by newspapers and organizations outside the Nelson district on the general ground that the scheme is uneconomic and will impose a heavy burden on the general taxpayer for a long time ahead. They contend that the line will not meet running costs and insist that the existing trunk system in the South Island is running at a loss. They also maintain that, by reason of engineering difficulties, the scheme is most expensive. Some point out that a Royal Commission in 1952 found that Nelson was served by an efficient road transport organization and that the last Government had said in 1955 that the people of Nelson preferred road transport. Generally the press contend that reliance should be placed on road transport and that the special subsidy scheme adequately meets the needs of

* *Modern Democracies*, vol. 11, p. 303.

† See K. J. Scott, “Gerrymandering for Democracy”, *Political Science*, vol. 7, No. 2, p. 118.

Nelson. The final criticism by the press is that the decision is simply a blatant piece of electioneering.

The Deputy Leader of the Opposition, Mr. J. R. Marshall, concentrated most of his attack on the financial aspect of the decision. He maintained that it was unlikely that revenue from the new line would meet running expenses, and added that the general taxpayer would have to find another £500,000 a year for interest charges on the loan moneys.

The Cotton Industry

The Prime Minister allowed the first gale of criticism to blow out and then announced at a ceremony to mark the beginning of construction work on the new line that a cotton mill, costing in the ultimate £4,000,000, would be built in Nelson. The capital would be provided by oversea and New Zealand interests. The mill would embrace spinning, weaving and processing, and would be in production next year. Initially the mill would employ about 300 workers, but, as production developed in planned stages, there would be substantial increases in the labour force. The products of the mill would be sold at prices competitive with imported goods, and the Prime Minister said that it was intended to export part of the output. According to the Prime Minister, it was fully in line with New Zealand's development needs to import cotton in its crudest raw material form, and he said:

In this way the maximum New Zealand value is added to the finished product, the full use is made of New Zealand labour and skills, the maximum saving is made in overseas exchange, and the maximum return of wealth is created by the industry for retention in New Zealand.

Mr. Nash added that the new railway would facilitate the transport of products manufactured in Nelson, and referred to another development, the proposed rail-ferry for Cook Strait. The Government had announced earlier that tenders were being invited for the construction of a rail-and-road-vehicle vessel for the Cook Strait service, with the South Island terminal at Picton, which is near to Blenheim, and that it was contemplated that the vessel would go into service in 1962. The announcement emphasized that this vessel would fill a long-felt need in effectively bridging the rail and road systems of the North and South Islands.

The plan to erect a cotton mill in Nelson has been criticized by most newspapers, but without the hostility that greeted the plan to proceed with the Nelson railway. There is a demand to know from Government what tariff protection it is contemplating for the new industry. An assurance is sought that Government will not impose import restrictions for the benefit of the new industry which are inconsistent with the provisions of GATT. The point is also made in criticism that New Zealand should not choose the cotton industry and thus compete with Asian countries when there is need to increase the sales of our primary produce in their markets. However, the newspapers seem agreed that New Zealand should develop new industries, leaving open for argument the question of what and where. It is certain that there will be many more rounds in the contest on the question of the Nelson railway, but,

meanwhile, it can be argued for Government that the railway forms part of a wider plan for economic development.

Local Government

ONCE again there is to be a formal inquiry into the structure of local government—a question that has been the subject of critical comment over a long period. The main complaint is that New Zealand is overburdened with a multiplicity of local authorities. Progress in dealing with this question has been slow, largely because of the attitude that reform is good for the other fellow but wrong when it means the absorption of your own local authority within a larger framework.

The last comprehensive investigation was conducted by a select committee of Parliament in 1944 and, as a result of that investigation, a Local Government Commission was established. The powers given to that body were not adequate and, although the Commission has laboured hard to persuade local authorities to accept amalgamations, the results have been disappointing. The Royal Commission on Local Authority Finance (1958) said that it was in complete agreement with the view that many local problems could be eased by rationalization and amalgamation of local bodies. The Commission also said:

Now if ever is the time for members of local bodies and their electors to take an enlightened and unselfish view of their position in relation to the general good. Without their co-operation little can be accomplished and it is notorious that the Local Government Commission has not been able to accomplish very much.

The present investigation is being conducted by the Local Bills Committee of Parliament and the order of reference is:

- (1) Whether the structure of local government in New Zealand, as at present constituted, is capable of meeting the increasing needs and demands of a rapidly developing population and economy in the most efficient and suitable manner.
- (2) If not, what changes in, or rationalization of, the existing structure are necessary to enable local government to cope with present and future requirements in that manner.
- (3) What legislative changes are necessary or desirable to give effect to any recommendations made under (1) and (2) above.
- (4) Whether the present distribution of functions between central and local government is in the best interests of good government, and whether any additional functions should be assigned to local authorities to ensure they play their full part in the government of the country. And
- (5) Whether there is a need for better co-ordination between departments and associated agencies responsible for the formulation and administration of local government policies, and, if so, what changes are considered necessary to achieve this end.

In a useful survey of the situation the Department of Internal Affairs

mentions that the present system is a territorial one on which there has been superimposed an uneven and overlapping pattern of single-purpose authorities. There are 765 separate local authorities that are considered to be within the province of the Committee's deliberations, and these are broadly classified as follows:

<i>Type</i>	<i>Net number of separate local authorities</i>
County Councils	121
Borough Councils (including City Councils)	143
Town Boards	28
Land Drainage Boards	41
Fire Boards	60
Harbour Boards	24
Electric Power Boards	42
Hospital Boards	37
Rabbit Boards	209
Milk Boards	13
Catchment Boards	13
Miscellaneous	34

The abolition of the provincial system of government in 1876 was far-reaching in its consequences, and over the years there has been justifiable comment that this caused a vacuum which was not adequately filled by the new system of local government that was enacted in the same year. Leicester Webb makes the point that the reaction against provincialism and an uncritical willingness to copy rural local government in other countries caused the legislators of 1876 to ignore the suitability of the provinces, in point of geographic distinctness and community of interest, as administrative areas.* The present system has given us a large number of small units with the incidental result that the State towers like a giant in the general scheme of government.

It will have been noted that the Committee will be inquiring into the present distribution of functions between central and local government. There is need to consider change for several reasons. First, the view is strongly held by some that there is too much concentration of power in the hands of the central government. Secondly, there are some functions of a social welfare character that could be better performed by local authorities. However, our local government system would need to be strengthened in order to take the weight, and it would be necessary to devise a system of finance which would leave local authorities less at the mercy of the Government. If this were done it would provide a more effective counter to the power of the State and, at the same time, would tend to promote greater interest by the public in the work of local authorities. The New Zealand citizen is guilty of apathy in matters of local-body administration, as is shown by reference to the low polling in local-body elections. However, many a citizen can be pardoned if he finds the existing functions of a local authority quite unexciting, ranging as they do from making roads down to such routine matters as the registration of dogs. In finding answers to the various

* *Government in New Zealand*, p. 129.

questions raised in the order of reference, the Local Bills Committee faces difficult and contentious issues, but there seems today greater confidence that something constructive will emerge as a result of the Committee's deliberations.

Infant and Pre-school Health Services

IN THE ROUND TABLE, December 1959 (p. 105), we mentioned that Government had appointed a Consultative Committee to inquire into the existing provision, organization and administration of infant and pre-school health services and that the hearings had become largely a trial of strength between the Health Department and the Plunket Society, which expressed the fear that its activities would be absorbed by Government. In its report the Consultative Committee came down substantially in favour of the Plunket Society.

The Plunket Society is a voluntary body with a distinguished record of service and is now deeply rooted in the life of the country. It is concerned with infant and pre-school child care, motherhood education, mothercraft, and also with the running of institutions called Karitane Hospitals, which care for many premature and weakling babies.

Few seriously thought that there was any question of the absorption of the Society's activities by the State, but the real issue seemed to be the extent to which financial assistance should be granted by the State. For its funds the Society relies on public donations and on State grants, which it has been receiving in growing measure since 1913. No charge is made by the Society for the various services it provides, although a Karitane nurse working in a private home is paid wages by the family employing her.

The general approach of the Consultative Committee on the question of State aid was to say that it was a primary and proper function of Government to safeguard the health of the young, and that a voluntary body was entitled to financial assistance to the extent that it relieved Government of its direct responsibility. The Committee found that the Plunket Society was performing its functions competently, efficiently and adequately, but did say that no more Karitane Hospitals should be built as separate institutions and that services of the Karitane type should be available in new hospitals, since these are built within the general hospital system of the country.

The Committee made a number of detailed recommendations designed to place financial assistance on a more certain and adequate basis for the future. Doubtless to promote understanding and harmony, the Committee recommended that the Health Department should in future have one representative on the Dominion Council of the Plunket Society.

Another recommendation provides for the establishment of a Child Health Council to regulate all the agencies that operate in the field of child health and that depend upon financial assistance from Government. It was suggested that the Council should consist of:

- | | |
|---|--|
| (1) The Director-General of Health as Chairman; | } Officers of the
Health
Department. |
| (2) The Director of the Division of Child Hygiene; | |
| (3) The Director of the Division of Nursing Services; | |

- (4) A representative of the Education Department;
- (5) A representative of the Minister of Social Welfare;
- (6) The senior member for the time being of the University of Otago concerned with child health;
- (7) The Director of Medical Services of the Plunket Society;
- (8) The Director of Nursing Services of the Plunket Society;
- (9) A representative of the New Zealand Paediatric Society;
- (10) A representative of the New Zealand Council of the College of General Practitioners.

This recommendation had its origin in the contention of the Health Department that there was duplication of services in the field and that economy and complete uniformity of administration could best be achieved if these services were administered entirely by the Health Department. Two beneficial results would accrue from that: the first, that parents in areas already adequately served by a Public Health Nurse would be restrained from seeking the services of a Plunket Nurse in addition, and Plunket Nurses would be restrained from endeavouring to invade areas already efficiently served by a Public Health Nurse. The Consultative Committee, however, came to the conclusion that instances of duplication were not numerous, and that even if the Department were given complete control the saving effected would be in the services of only a few nurses throughout New Zealand. The Committee thought that such difficulties of co-ordination as arose could be resolved if a Child Health Council were established in accordance with its recommendation.

The Committee pointed out that the change sought by the Department would be undesirable on the grounds of cost alone, because, as things stood, each local community was required by the Plunket Society to raise by voluntary effort a proportion of the cost of any clinic in its area and had to pay 40 per cent of the salary and expenses of its Plunket Nurse. On the wider ground of the public good, the Committee emphasized that the Plunket Society had the crucial quality that it was based on purely voluntary service divorced from any relation to authority, that it carried the strong support and co-operation of mothers, and that as a result mothers were responsive to the health education activities of the Society.

There is little doubt that any voluntary organization receiving large grants from Government should be the subject of informed scrutiny from time to time and that it should justify its methods and technique of operation in the light of advancing knowledge. From this angle the Committee's report serves a worthy purpose and is a constructive document. There is still need, however, for a more comprehensive investigation to determine the principles that should govern State aid to voluntary associations over the whole front of human activity.

New Zealand,
May 1960.

RHODESIA AND NYASALAND

MR. MACMILLAN PASSES BY

THOSE Africans, both black and white, who endeavour to move with the times, find it increasingly difficult to keep abreast of the rapid changes that sweep our continent: those who would resist change must find 1960 painfully frustrating.

Mr. Macmillan has been here and has cheered 170 million Africans who believe that white domination must go. Lord Home has visited us and no longer appears to the African people as a champion of white rights only—but of the rights of all men. The doings of the new Secretary of State, Mr. Macleod, appear ominous to those who still equate “civilized” with “white”, and who cannot conceive “responsible” government as anything but “white-dominated” government. Dr. Banda has been released; but he has yet to prove his worth as a leader. He has spent most of his years in Britain; never having served Nyasaland at cost to himself, he has returned to save her. Circumstances, since his return, have been greatly in his favour and the Nyasaland and Federal Governments have, apparently unwittingly, done everything necessary to build him up—even to the extent of providing a year in jail: a hothouse process during which a rather small man has grown into a giant. Now Dr. Banda must reveal whether or not he has wisdom and a knowledge of statesmanship. Africa is short of many commodities, but especially of time and of leaders, and it is to be hoped that Dr. Banda will be able to discharge the responsibility that has come his way.

The Monckton Commission is with us. The work of this Commission was described by the Federal Prime Minister last December as the “keenest of all examinations of our affairs”. Sir Roy Welensky stated:

My only concern with the terms of reference and the membership of the Monckton Commission has been to ensure that the Federation as a community would not be subjected to some white-anting, destructive commission intent upon the dismemberment of our country at the direction of a clique whose inspiration is dubious. Instead I have made every effort to ensure that if we have to be scrutinized we will be scrutinized by those who have the ability to discern the good as well as the bad there is in the structure and the practice of our State. I do not deny the bad nor recognize only the good; and I see in this Commission, and in the 1960 Review of the Constitution itself, a further means to eliminate the bad whilst preserving all there is which counts in our favour.

At Lusaka in January the British Prime Minister said:

Your task in Central Africa and our task at home is to make a multi-racial society a success. When the Federal scheme was first launched it was agreed that somewhere about this year the Governments concerned would take stock of the progress made. If this is to be useful I feel certain a great deal of preparatory work must be done and there must be a realistic and detailed assessment of the whole situation. What has been done? What has gone wrong?” [That was the reason,

he explained, why the Monckton Commission of experienced and eminent men was set up] under the chairmanship of a man much respected in our country and many others as a sound, sensible and honourable arbitrator.

If it is to help us and you to find the answers to some of these questions facing us, it must receive the co-operation of all parties and races. I am very sorry to hear talk in some quarters of a boycott or non-co-operation which might impair the preparatory work of this Commission and I would venture to say—not in hardness of heart but mere fact—that to do so is a negative approach. It should not be the approach of those who have the real interests of their country at heart.

In mid-March Lord Monckton was able to say to a press conference:

We are well satisfied with the number of people who have so far come forward and given their views. He hoped the Commission's report would be ready by October. Figures issued by the Commission show that more than 100 Chiefs, Native authorities and village headmen, and 126 African individuals gave evidence in Northern Rhodesia. In addition, 13 political parties or branches gave evidence as well as nearly 200 European individuals.

Lord Monckton said that the leaders of the African National Congress and the United National Independence Party had not given evidence, but individual members had done so. He added that the Commissioners had received documents concerning the African National Congress and the United National Independence Party though not from the organizations themselves. It was impossible to say how many people had not given evidence because of fear of intimidation, but some had not done so.

The Commissioners arrived in Nyasaland on March 21 and Lord Monckton stated that he had received a large amount of written evidence, much of it from Africans. By the end of the month it was officially stated that the Commission had received evidence from a fair cross-section of the people despite the fact that there had been some intimidation of witnesses. The Commissioners are at present in Southern Rhodesia.

Parties in the United Kingdom

THE Conservative victory in the United Kingdom in October 1959 was welcomed by most Europeans in Central Africa and regretted by most Africans. The Federal Prime Minister said that it was tragic that the concept was growing that there was one political party in the United Kingdom that favoured the European and another that favoured the African. He did not believe that the Socialists would do more for the country than the Conservatives.

With confidence regained after the tragedies of early 1959, Sir Roy Welensky closed the year with a review in which he made the following points:

1. He had changed his earlier demand for Dominion status to a call for complete independence in the field of Federal Government: such independence to be achieved in 1960 or, at the latest, in 1961. (This new demand was really little different from the earlier one for complete

independence and was just as unacceptable to the people of Central Africa, other than a majority of the white electorate.)

2. It was essential to destroy the belief that the Federation could be broken up.
3. He would demand that the right of the British Government to veto Federal legislation should go.
4. He would demand that the Colonial Laws Validity Act should no longer apply to the Federation. (This law prevents the Federal Government from passing any legislation which is repugnant to the laws of England.)

There is no doubt that these demands caused some embarrassment in British Government circles. When Mr. Macmillan visited Africa in January he made it quite clear that Her Majesty's Government would not act in such a way that the African people, when they achieved self-government in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, would be faced with a situation in which they would find themselves irrevocably committed within "a full and independent Federation". His words were:

The Government of the United Kingdom has made it clear—abundantly clear—that we will not remove the protection of the British Government to either of the Northern Territories—Northern Rhodesia or Nyasaland—until it is clear that the expressed wish of these peoples is to enter into a full and independent Federation. . . .

The Prime Minister said that at Lagos he had been speaking of the independent Federation of the future, and repeating what he had said in Parliament on July 22, 1959, viz.:

The British Government will certainly not withdraw its protection from Nyasaland and Rhodesia in the short run, and in the long run our object is to advance these territories to fully responsible government. Then they will be able to dispense with our protection and stand entirely on their own feet as components of the Federation. When all the units are in a position to agree, and are agreed that British Government protection is no longer needed—then, and only then—can the whole Federation go forward to full independence and full Commonwealth membership. That is the negative side. Nor does it rest on my statements or those of my colleagues.

Mr. Macmillan also stated the positive side:

First I should like to make it plain that the function of the Monckton Commission is not to destroy the Federation—far from it. It is to advise us how the Federation can best go forward. This is clear from its terms of reference and I should like to make it plain that my Government stands by those terms of reference and looks to the Commission to do a valuable and constructive job. I am confident that it will. May I quote words I have used in Parliament, especially in connexion with the Monckton Commission: "If we were to announce our intention now to disband the Federation or form a new one, or to divide it into different units without waiting either for the Commission or for the 1960 Review; if we were to tear up, without further thought, an experiment which is only seven years old and which was started with a good deal of goodwill on all

he explained, why the Monckton Commission of experienced and eminent men was set up] under the chairmanship of a man much respected in our country and many others as a sound, sensible and honourable arbitrator.

If it is to help us and you to find the answers to some of these questions facing us, it must receive the co-operation of all parties and races. I am very sorry to hear talk in some quarters of a boycott or non-co-operation which might impair the preparatory work of this Commission and I would venture to say—not in hardness of heart but mere fact—that to do so is a negative approach. It should not be the approach of those who have the real interests of their country at heart.

In mid-March Lord Monckton was able to say to a press conference:

We are well satisfied with the number of people who have so far come forward and given their views. He hoped the Commission's report would be ready by October. Figures issued by the Commission show that more than 100 Chiefs, Native authorities and village headmen, and 126 African individuals gave evidence in Northern Rhodesia. In addition, 13 political parties or branches gave evidence as well as nearly 200 European individuals.

Lord Monckton said that the leaders of the African National Congress and the United National Independence Party had not given evidence, but individual members had done so. He added that the Commissioners had received documents concerning the African National Congress and the United National Independence Party though not from the organizations themselves. It was impossible to say how many people had not given evidence because of fear of intimidation, but some had not done so.

The Commissioners arrived in Nyasaland on March 21 and Lord Monckton stated that he had received a large amount of written evidence, much of it from Africans. By the end of the month it was officially stated that the Commission had received evidence from a fair cross-section of the people despite the fact that there had been some intimidation of witnesses. The Commissioners are at present in Southern Rhodesia.

Parties in the United Kingdom

THE Conservative victory in the United Kingdom in October 1959 was welcomed by most Europeans in Central Africa and regretted by most Africans. The Federal Prime Minister said that it was tragic that the concept was growing that there was one political party in the United Kingdom that favoured the European and another that favoured the African. He did not believe that the Socialists would do more for the country than the Conservatives.

With confidence regained after the tragedies of early 1959, Sir Roy Welensky closed the year with a review in which he made the following points:

1. He had changed his earlier demand for Dominion status to a call for complete independence in the field of Federal Government: such independence to be achieved in 1960 or, at the latest, in 1961. (This new demand was really little different from the earlier one for complete

independence and was just as unacceptable to the people of Central Africa, other than a majority of the white electorate.)

2. It was essential to destroy the belief that the Federation could be broken up.
3. He would demand that the right of the British Government to veto Federal legislation should go.
4. He would demand that the Colonial Laws Validity Act should no longer apply to the Federation. (This law prevents the Federal Government from passing any legislation which is repugnant to the laws of England.)

There is no doubt that these demands caused some embarrassment in British Government circles. When Mr. Macmillan visited Africa in January he made it quite clear that Her Majesty's Government would not act in such a way that the African people, when they achieved self-government in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, would be faced with a situation in which they would find themselves irrevocably committed within "a full and independent Federation". His words were:

The Government of the United Kingdom has made it clear—abundantly clear—that we will not remove the protection of the British Government to either of the Northern Territories—Northern Rhodesia or Nyasaland—until it is clear that the expressed wish of these peoples is to enter into a full and independent Federation. . . .

The Prime Minister said that at Lagos he had been speaking of the independent Federation of the future, and repeating what he had said in Parliament on July 22, 1959, viz.:

The British Government will certainly not withdraw its protection from Nyasaland and Rhodesia in the short run, and in the long run our object is to advance these territories to fully responsible government. Then they will be able to dispense with our protection and stand entirely on their own feet as components of the Federation. When all the units are in a position to agree, and are agreed that British Government protection is no longer needed—then, and only then—can the whole Federation go forward to full independence and full Commonwealth membership. That is the negative side. Nor does it rest on my statements or those of my colleagues.

Mr. Macmillan also stated the positive side:

First I should like to make it plain that the function of the Monckton Commission is not to destroy the Federation—far from it. It is to advise us how the Federation can best go forward. This is clear from its terms of reference and I should like to make it plain that my Government stands by those terms of reference and looks to the Commission to do a valuable and constructive job. I am confident that it will. May I quote words I have used in Parliament, especially in connexion with the Monckton Commission: "If we were to announce our intention now to disband the Federation or form a new one, or to divide it into different units without waiting either for the Commission or for the 1960 Review; if we were to tear up, without further thought, an experiment which is only seven years old and which was started with a good deal of goodwill on all

sides, and an experiment which has made very considerable progress, we should be guilty of an act of treachery towards the high ideals and purposes which we set ourselves."

Another notable passage from the Prime Minister's speech in Salisbury is:

If, therefore, we look on the future in terms of economic progress, I say the prospects are good. We have solid ground for confidence. But our economic life must be set in a political framework. Indeed, it cannot thrive unless the political basis of society is sound. The great challenge to you here, in the Federation, is to establish on a sound basis a social and political structure which reflects the political realities of your country in these days of change.

We have been challenged by the British Prime Minister to establish on a sound basis a social and political structure very different from the one we, as white Africans, have been accustomed to during our history in Central Africa. The Prime Minister has no doubts about the economic potential and I believe that he is quite correct in his observations. The challenge which he has stated confronts every inhabitant; but must be met first by the whites, for in our hands rests all political power and all social privilege. We must show ourselves ready to share and co-operate with our fellow citizens, regardless of race. If we do this—and to date we have done little more than talk about it in terms of "gradualism", terms which do not meet the reality of the need—then the challenge meets the African as well and he has to decide if he will accept our decision to share. Even at this late hour a great many Africans would co-operate; but there is still inadequate evidence that our political leaders are aware of the need to share government with black Africans. Europeans fear that too many Africans will vote, when the real danger is that not enough will be prepared to share in a democratic system with us. Hope, for black Africans, has been long deferred, and some leaders who have co-operated with Europeans in the past are now advocating a racial approach.

Claims of Southern Rhodesia

AS so much depends upon the 270,000 white people in the Federation and as about 200,000 of these live in Southern Rhodesia, the importance of the Southern Rhodesian attitude is obvious. Until January it was held that, whatever might be the attitude of other Governments, the Southern Rhodesian Government fully supported Federation and would continue to do so, if for no other reason than her need to share the copper profits of Northern Rhodesia.

However, following the visit of Mr. Macmillan, the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia profoundly shocked even some members of his own political party by laying down certain conditions prerequisite to participation by Southern Rhodesia in the Federal review. Sir Edgar Whitehead demanded that the remaining reservations be removed from the Southern Rhodesian Constitution and stated that but for Federation Southern Rhodesia would already have had Dominion status. This is probably quite correct; but if this had been achieved, then conditions in Southern Rhodesia today would

probably be similar to those in the Union of South Africa where the African people recognize that there is no outside power, such as Great Britain, to which they can turn for assistance. The fact that Britain still has some responsibility for us has a comforting effect on the African people in Southern Rhodesia. Any attempt to sever the remaining ties with the British Government would be most unwelcome to the majority of Southern Rhodesians, though such a course might be welcomed by a majority of the electorate.

The Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister then demanded that the Federal Government should remain in civilized hands. This would gain the ready acceptance of all our people until a definition of the word "civilized" was given. If a fair definition is implied in the qualifications for the Federal "A" Roll, then a majority of our whites would continue to agree but a majority of the population, including almost all the blacks, would vehemently disagree. The Prime Minister said that, as the British Government had, in 1953, demanded that the day-to-day affairs of the African people should remain a territorial matter and that European education was a Federal matter, it was therefore implicit in the Constitution that the Federal Government would be dominated by whites, since Africans should not direct European education. It seems, on this basis of argument, that the territorial governments should immediately have been dominated by blacks, for why should whites direct the education of blacks! In actual fact, the preamble to the Constitution implies that a Federal Electoral Act should be designed to provide maximum participation in government by all the people, regardless of race.

The third point made by Sir Edgar Whitehead was that Southern Rhodesia would have to be assured that the two northern governments would not be operated by "African nationalists on a nationalist basis".

It is impossible to conceive how the British Government could guarantee that African majorities would not eventually govern in any territory or in the Federal sphere itself. The Prime Minister says, nevertheless, that these conditions are implicit in the present Constitution and that, if they are not now fulfilled, the electors of Southern Rhodesia will be faced with a change from the 1953 agreement on which the electorate voted in a referendum at that time.

But it is most difficult to gain, or to give, a fairly balanced picture of the situation in Central Africa. Leaders make statements which seem to show that there is simply no hope of our attaining a situation in which the colour bar will be set aside and men accepted on a basis of worth. Yet, on other occasions, the same leaders may deliver speeches which are full of hope, as, for example, when Sir Edgar Whitehead in November last stated:

The sooner we learn to work together instead of working against one another, the better it will be for all our people in this country. . . . Any Rhodesian who could achieve these (high) standards should not be debarred from getting a job because of his race.

Even in this statement, however, the real problem is not faced. It is one thing to contemplate the future of the very well-qualified African, but a very different matter to face the demands of the average black citizen. The number

of Africans with high qualifications would be small for a number of years ahead and if these men only entered the "white" field on equal terms in economics, politics and socially, the present situation would not be greatly disturbed. If, however, Africans who have had eight or ten years of education are allowed freely to compete and to share, then privilege will have passed from the land. It is not recognized that until this happens we cannot hope to find stability in government, maximum development in economics or justice in the life of the nation.

Sir Ronald Prain, speaking as Chairman of the Rhodesian Selection Trust, took a bold step in his annual statement and suggested that Southern Rhodesia particularly would have to make many changes "if confidence is to be restored among the African population in the real intentions of the European minority to implement partnership in a sense which will be understandable to Africans". Two changes which he suggested should be made were the achievement of a multi-racial parliament, and the setting aside of the Land Apportionment Act which segregates the races into black areas and white areas.

Recently the Federal Minister of Law stated that, because of the speed of change throughout Africa, we must advance rapidly towards full self-government for the Federation. He stated further that this meant that full self-government, within the Federal structure, would first have to be granted to each of the territories. This is a remarkable change of attitude on the part of the Federal Government, for it could not be realized except through a wide sharing of power by whites with blacks. This must be done and there is no justification for further delay.

In the Union of South Africa the Minister of Justice has stated that 80 per cent of the Bantu people are peace-loving. Your correspondent considers this figure to be too low; but if in the Union of South Africa it is recognized that the African people are peace-loving, then we whites in the Federation should not be taking undue risks in seeking to reconcile all our people, both black and white, in a new and united nation. A change of heart is even more imperative than changes in the Constitution.

Central Africa,
May 1960.

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